Cutting edge . . . American John Daly turned heads when he appeared for the Scandinavian Masters with his blond curls completely shorn. The Samson of professional golf, hitherto known as 'The Wild Thing', is now making waves as 'Long John Baldy' PHOTOGRAPH: ARNE FORSELL

Golf Scandinavian Masters

Parnevik, the local hero, raises Ryder challenge

Michael Britten in Malmo

JESPER PARNEVIK came home to a hero's welcome here on Sunday when he won the Volvo Scandinavian Masters by five strokes from the European No 1 Colin Montgomerie. A final round of 67 enabled the American-based golfer from Stockholm to become the first Swede to win a European Tour event in his own country.

The 30-year-old Parnevik had an 18-under-par total of 270 at the Barseback club and confirmed that he is on the verge of becoming one of the major figures in the European game.

Runner-up to Nick Price in the Open championship at Turnberry last year, he has spent this season establishing himself on the US Tour. He returned to Europe in the hope of making a late challenge for a Ryder Cup place and, whether or not he succeeds, there have been few more impressive performances under pressure. He has lifted himself to 18th in the Ryder Cup rankings.

Parnevik began with two rounds of 67 on one of the strongest European courses. He added a third of 69 to move three clear of the field, then swept to victory before an ecstatic crowd of 30,000.

His only error in four days was a double bogey at the third on the third day. Montgomerie, who shot 69 but was trumped by Parnevik's salvo of three birdies in the last five holes, said: "To play like that with the whole of Sweden on his back was wonderful."

Mark Roe's bizarre behaviour in the final round of the tournament, after which he was disqualified, is likely to get him into further trouble with officialdom.

The World Cup golfer from Sheffield had 10s at the 12th and 16th and took 11 at the 13th, in totalling 58 strokes for the inward half. He was then disqualified after signing for a 94, one fewer than he had actually taken.

His partner, Mark Litton, complained to the tournament director, John Paramor, about Roe's behaviour, citing an instance at the 12th where he struck a six-inch putt 10 yards off the green and had to use a wedge for his next shot, and another at the 13th, where Roe had six putts. It was there that he also incurred a two-stroke penalty for striking a moving ball.

Roe, who was fined by Paramor in Paris two years ago for tipping a plate of spaghetti over the head of a fellow professional, Russell Claydon, in a restaurant, blamed an injury to his left knee for his erratic golf.

● Nick Faldo has called for a change in the Ryder Cup selection process so that Europe can field their strongest team. He said in the US that he is upset that the European captain, Bernard Gallacher, will have only two choices to add to the 10 players who qualify on points and added: "For the good of the Ryder Cup we must have our best guys."

Sailing

Fastnet is off to slow start

Bob Fisher

THE first day of the Fastnet race on Saturday, which is also the culminating event of the Admiral's Cup, was marked by a sharp contrast in weather conditions. Brisk 22-knot squalls overnight were opposed by a general calm from Lyme Bay westwards.

The 242-boat fleet was well spread and for most competitors progress was painfully slow, particularly those boats which failed to get through the tidal "gate" and make the last of the ebb tide at Portland Bill to get the advantage of the favourable current to cross Lyme Bay. Only a handful of boats managed that almost essential ingredient to a fast time around the 605-mile course.

Ludde Ingvall's Nicorette was first out past the Needles pursued by Mike Slade's Longobarda and Jean-Rene Bannwart's Whitbread 60 Corum. Behind them came James Dolan's Sagamore, George Coumantarous's Boomerange and Matthew Humphries with another Whitbread 60, Viper. The first three made a break early on but Sagamore, by persisting inshore, had joined them by Start Point, just over 100 miles down the track.

The battle between the United States and Italy in the Admiral's Cup is extremely close. The Italians, after 21 hours, had a three-place advantage in this race but need a total of five places better than the Americans in order to win the Cup.

Rinaldo del Bono's Capricorno was third in the big-boat class and Bob Towse's Blue Yankee was fifth; Britain's Seahorse, skippered by Robin Aisher, was leading.

In the ILC-40s class David Clarke's Pigs in Space was third, one place ahead of Pasquale Landolfi's Brava Q8, in turn one place in front of Harold Cudmore's Astro.

Italy had another two-place advantage in the Mumm 36 class, in which Paolo Gala's Mumm-A Mia was fourth and Jim Brady's No Problem was sixth. Between them was Mike Golding's Mumm.

The indications are that this will be a quiet Fastnet. There seems little chance of strong wind and certainly nothing approaching the gales which racked it 16 years ago, causing the death of 17 competitors.

The race can be divided into three: from Cowes to Lands End, out and back to the Fastnet Rock, and home from the Isles of Scilly. Each part is tackled differently and the change-overs can be dramatic.

This year's race is being run against a forecast of a gradient breeze from the east, rather than the prevailing south-westerlies. Skippers and navigators preparing for the race were all rethinking their strategies just before the start.

Cryptic crossword by Rufus

Across

9 Upholstery material that is harsh or rough (9)
10 The kind of crust found only on the best pies? (5)
11 Discloses what one does to a dress that's too tight? (4,3)
12 For reform, a little brat gets bent over! (7)
13 Lear deranged and demoted (4)
14 Reckless, having an iridescent cocktail (10)
16 He takes one's foreign money for a start (7)
17 Smoked by the great man in bed (7)
19 Encouraging number in audition (10)
22 Churchwarden's hose (4)
24 Fifty snakes — and their game partners (7)
25 Odd way to go from place to place (7)
26 A comfortable recess? (5)
27 Be quick to show pride in appearance (4,5)

Down

1 Prize whopper involving topography? (3,3,2,3,4)
2 Capital turn of a pierrot (8)
3 Live down under (5)
4 Not a good place for Harold, as things turned out (8)
5 One in irons may be guillotined for attempted assassination (6)
6 New speed cuts thought likely (9)
7 Strongly disapprove of what a model will do after work? (6)
8 Well protected, gum-shield and all? (5,2,3,5)
15 Sprawling cat rested, all spread out (9)
17 Where water speed records were set — not sonic however (8)
18 Eastern trail one meandered (8)
20 A pot-hunter? (6)
21 Settle down in Northern steel organisation (6)
23 Come up with more money (5)

Last week's solution

Motor Cycling

It's so easy for Fogarty

THERE was a pilgrimage to Brands Hatch on Sunday, not for a miracle but to savour the expected. Unlikely as it sounds, it was to see a British world champion reinforcing his status as the best in the world, *writes Peter Nichols.*

About 40,000 fans turned out to see Carl Fogarty do it with perfunctory ease, taking both legs of the World Superbike round to advance his lead in the championship to 136 points, ahead of the Australian Troy Corser. With only four rounds (eight races) of the championship remaining, Fogarty will find it harder to lose his title than retain it.

Fogarty is quick to berate grand prix racing — it will not survive when Doohan goes, he recently suggested — but his superiority in the Superbike division is beginning to mirror that of Doohan.

The Lancastrian broke James Whitham's lap record on the sixth lap and was never threatened. For half a dozen or so laps the crowd rose as Fogarty passed. Then the wave of applause fell to a ripple. It was all too easy.

Race two replicated the first. Fogarty, carving a second a lap, more or less, out of his rivals in the early part, sat on his lead mid-race and then eased down over the final two or three laps of the 25.

© Guardian Publications Ltd., 1995. Published by Guardian Publications Ltd., 164 Deansgate, Manchester, M60 2RR, and printed by WCP Commercial Printing, Leek. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and mailing offices. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.

The Guardian Weekly

Vol 153, No 8
Week ending August 20, 1995

Japan PM offers apology for war

Kevin Rafferty in Tokyo

JAPAN'S prime minister, Tomiichi Murayama, commemorated the 50th anniversary of Japan's surrender at the end of the second world war by offering his "heartfelt apologies" for the suffering that Japan had caused, the first time that a leader has used the elusive word "apology".

In the eyes of victims, he took some of the merit away by toning down his words at the formal public memorial service for the war dead and only offering more conventional expressions of sorrow.

"That war caused huge pain and sorrow to many nations, especially those in Asia. I humbly accept this fact and . . . offer sincere condolences," he said.

He made it plain that the apology did not mean that Japan would accept the victims' demands for compensation. It was not clear how many of his government were committed to Mr Murayama's apology, a fact that was underlined when most of the Liberal Democratic party members of his cabinet turned up at the nationalist Shinto Yasukuni shrine where convicted and hanged war criminals are enshrined as gods.

Outside, rightwing nationalists made their feelings plain. "If Murayama and other politicians want to apologise, let them slit their bellies and apologise," one group yelled.



Murayama: 'heartfelt apologies'

In his official statement, Mr Murayama went further and was more explicit than any other Japanese leader. He started off with a fudge, talking of "a certain period in the not too distant past", but went on to admit that "Japan, following a mistaken national policy, advanced along the road to war, only to ensnare the Japanese people in a fateful crisis, and through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations.

"In the hope that no such mistake be made in the future, I regard, in a spirit of humility, these irrefutable facts of history, and express once again my feelings of remorse and state my heartfelt apology." At a news conference, Mr Murayama was careful not to throw blame on the previous emperor, Hirohito, claiming that his admission that Japan had adopted mistaken policies was not to blame the emperor, who had ended the war.

The prime minister's statement did not satisfy British survivors of Japanese prisoner of war camps, who had been offered a controversial personal apology by Mr Murayama, news of which was released last weekend. "Mr Murayama has, once again, chosen to fudge the issue by issuing an apology on his own behalf rather than from the government," said Arthur Titherington, secretary of the Japanese Labour Camps Survivors Association.

The apology to the PoWs was controversial not just because it was a personal one, but because initially the prime minister denied it was an apology at all. He said he had written to John Major to congratulate him on his re-election as leader of the Conservative party. Later Japanese officials admitted the letter contained an apology, though the full text of the letter to Mr Major has not been released.

Japanese nationalists believe that their country was fighting a war against colonialism and was not the aggressor. They contend Japan was the victim because it suffered the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Greenpeace protest in China

Jeffrey Parker in Beijing

POLICE detained six Greenpeace activists on Tuesday after they unfurled protest banners in Beijing's Tiananmen Square demanding that China end its nuclear tests.

The protest was timed to coincide with Beijing's rumoured plans to hold a nuclear test in the next seven days and its announcement of missile tests off the east coast near Taiwan.

The detained activists included Greenpeace's executive director, Thilo Bode, and the national directors from the four other nuclear states, who entered China on tourist visas.

A Foreign Ministry official declined to comment on the protest.

Beijing has pledged to stop nuclear testing once a global Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty comes into force and says it backs moves to put the pact into effect in 1996. — *Reuter*

Clinton pledge, page 5

Two Serb refugees take a rest after arriving in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Banja Luka PHOTOGRAPH: SRDJAN ILIC

UN confirms massacre

Guardian Reporters

A UNITED NATIONS investigation has found that Bosnian Serb soldiers committed wholesale human rights abuses after the fall of the Muslim enclave of Srebrenica last month, including mass executions and beatings. A UN report supports earlier press and US government allegations of mass killings.

The International Committee of the Red Cross said last week that at least 6,000 people are missing in eastern Bosnia. US officials believe up to 12,000 are unaccounted for, and say 2,700 may be buried in a mass grave near Srebrenica.

On Monday, the US assistant secretary of state, Richard Holbrooke, arrived in Croatia to try to negotiate a settlement of the three-year old war. But warring factions showed no sign they were ready to compromise, as fighting flared in central Bosnia.

The first boatloads of Croats were sent across the Sava river from Serb-held Bosnia on Monday and thousands more were expected to follow in a forced exodus. The Serbs were purging the Banja Luka area of Croats and Muslims in revenge for the flight of 150,000 Serb refugees from the rebel Krajina region captured by Croatia last week.

Refugee crisis, page 4
Martin Woollacott, page 12

High-level defections shake Saddam

Shyam Bhatia

TEN HIGH ranking Iraqi officers, including two generals, have been arrested in a purge following the defection to Jordan of two sons-in-law of President Saddam Hussein, an Iraqi opposition party said on Monday.

Scores of lower-ranking officers were also arrested, according to the Supreme Council for Islamic Resistance in Iraq.

Baghdad was cut off from the world and élite units of soldiers placed on alert at the weekend as President's Saddam's son-in-law, Lieutenant-General Hussein Kamil, publicly challenged the Iraqi dictator by urging the army to take over.

At a press conference in Jordan, where he sought asylum last week, Hussein Kamil called "on officers of the Iraqi army, officers of the Republican Guard, officers of the Special Guard, civil servants and all elements of Iraqi society to be ready for the important change that will make Iraq a modern state, dealing realistically with the international community."

As he spoke in the grounds of the Raghdan Palace in Amman, Jordanian sources disclosed that all telephone lines to and from Iraq had been cut without explanation.

The former Iraqi minister of industry and defence, until last week one of President Saddam's most powerful and notorious lieutenants, said his country was in a parlous state: "It is well known that Iraq's policy is isolated and the economic situation is very bad . . . we are not interested in solving our problems; rather we want to intensify problems with other countries."

Hussein Kamil, reviled by state-run Iraqi newspapers as a "traitor dwarf" who had sold out to foreign powers, claimed he had tried to persuade the dictator to alter course, without success.

For sheer chutzpah, there are not many in Saddam's entourage who can match Hussein Kamil. Once he decided to leave, he set off in his Mercedes in an official motorcade for the Jordanian border, along with his brother, Colonel Saddam Kamil — head of Saddam Hussein's personal security — their children and wives, the dictator's daughters Raghda and Rana, and 15 army officers. Only his closest supporters knew their destination was a life in exile in Jordan.

"I left in a very natural way," Hussein Kamil said. "I am a known person; a few soldiers cannot stop me. There were so many cars travelling, I had a large entourage and security."

The loss of Hussein Kamil is a serious blow to the dictatorship. He was head of the country's Military Industrial Commission, a bureaucratic

continued on page 7

Austria	AS30	Malta	45c
Belgium	BF75	Netherlands	G 4.40
Denmark	DK16	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 9.50	Portugal	E300
France	FF 13	Spain	P 275
Germany	DM 3.60	Sweden	SK 17
Greece	DR 400	Switzerland	SF 3.30
Italy	L 3,000	Thailand	60 Baht

Why French nuclear tests are the target of protest

THE STRENGTH and depth of the opposition of Australians to the resumption of nuclear weapons testing on Mururoa atoll surprised the elected representatives of both our major parties. The anniversaries of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have sustained public expression opposing the testing and use of nuclear weapons.

The Le Monde editorial (August 13) may consider Canberra's indignation to be selective but Australian concern about Chinese nuclear testing and human rights abuses has been clearly voiced. There are several differences between the Chinese and French situations. The first is that China is testing on its own territory. If President Chirac and his engineers are so certain that nuclear weapons testing is both necessary and safe let them test in metropolitan France. This would lead to an immediate diminution in "Australia's Francophobia" which the editorial found so "reprehensible in its severity".

The second difference is in the contrasting political systems in Australia, China and France, which allows Australian public opinion to be heard by the people of France. Media reports here have suggested that the proportion of French people opposing the continuation of nuclear testing has risen from 40 to 60 per cent in the past month. I suspect that few in China are aware of Australian public opinion against nuclear testing or the massacre in Tiananmen Square.

A side issue to this debate is that those of us in Australia who favour change to a republic need to consider carefully how we would choose our head of state. A Chirac-style president is not what I want!
Maureen McIlroy,
Canberra, Australia

HUGO YOUNG'S trenchant commentary criticising France's nuclear obsessions (August 13) resurrects the notion that there could be future Anglo-French atomic co-operation on nuclear weapons. Were this to develop, it would threaten to undermine the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the first article of which commits each nuclear weapon state signatory "not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly".

Problems could also arise were Britain to offer France specific nuclear test data to enable the French to simulate nuclear tests by computer.

Twenty-two years ago, in an earlier debate on French nuclear testing in the Pacific, the then Conservative MP for Louth called upon the Conservative government to make clear to the French president that he "could not expect our support". That MP was Jeffrey Archer, now Lord Archer of Weston-super-Mare, and a close confidant of John Major. Perhaps he can prevail upon the Prime Minister again to make clear the opposition of hundreds of MPs and thousands of British people to French nuclear testing while he is in France on his holiday.
(Dr) David Lowry,
Stoneleigh, Surrey

HUGO YOUNG suggests that CND failed to have an impact on nuclear issues during the cold war. But it should be remembered that nuclear testing was forced to go underground due to British anti-nuclear protest, leading to the partial nuclear test ban of 1963. This is confirmed by published correspondence between Macmillan and Kennedy. Fifty years after the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, CND's message is as relevant as ever.
Sheila Jones,
CND Archivist, London

I WAS startled to read (Birth of the Bomb, August 6) Martin Walker's almost casual assertion that the British and Americans "were desperate to persuade their Soviet allies to join in the final assault against the Japanese mainland" just before the Americans nuked Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It is generally recognised, on the contrary, that the Americans were desperately anxious to *prevent* the Russians doing so because this would involve them in the peace settlement with Japan and the Pacific area generally. The bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki ended the war immediately on America's terms and excluded the Russians, the other great Pacific power — the last bombs of the second world war and the first of the cold war.
F H Porter,
Oxford

Dawkins and his fairyist beliefs

RICHARD DAWKINS has certainly not "expressed the whole theory of modern Darwinism" in the concept of "the selfish gene", a fairyist theory par excellence (Dancing to the music of DNA, August 13). He is rather the unabashed propagandist of an extreme reductionist position not to be confused with mainstream genetics, but greeted enthusiastically by rightwing social theorists.

His popular books are more works of advocacy than science, and although many of his more eccentric ideas have been convincingly panned for their lack of scientific credibility, this has not damaged book sales. Stephen Rose and Richard Lewontin have exposed the circularity of his arguments and the difficulties in deriving causal explanations from evolutionary genetics.

Dawkins's personal crusade against religion is a side issue, generating nothing more than a pointless clash of equally intolerant fundamentalisms. Much more significant, however, is the quasi-official status accorded to a piece of pseudo-scientific dogma like the "selfish gene" theory.

Sceptics of reductionism like myself await the discovery of a gene for tax evasion, or a paper entitled: Is welfare socialism a virus of the mind? Not since Herbert Spencer popularised the phrase "survival of the fittest" has an axe-grinding ideologue so successfully hijacked a good piece of science.
Hugh Peter,
Levenshulme, Manchester

Keating a poor model for Blair

IF, AS you report (July 30), Tony Blair regards Australia's prime minister Paul Keating as a role model it is a sad indicator for the future of Britain and the British Labour party.

Keating has steered Australia's economic policy since the Labor government was elected in March 1983 — first as Treasurer and more recently as PM. During this period the government has deregulated the banking system, removed controls over capital flows and the exchange rate, and sharply reduced all tariffs. By removing most levers of economic control the government has been forced to rely primarily on interest rates — the bluntest and most inequitable of regulators.

The upshot has been both the worst unemployment since the 1930s and a growing current account deficit. The recent financial year's $26 billion deficit is pro rata the worst in the OECD.

This has induced the government to hold down economic growth to prevent a further deficit blow-out, thus locking the economy into high unemployment. The government's Tory ideology of small government has compounded the problems arising from its deregulatory philosophy and has cut the underpinning effect of employment in the government service sector. Indeed Keating frequently boasts that his government has reduced public sector spending to one of the lowest in the OECD.

This policy has led to substantial cuts in government services. Per capita grants to the states (responsible for basic services) have fallen 25 per cent during the Keating era. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that the states services, including health and education, have sharply deteriorated.

The Commonwealth is directly responsible for the universities, where real spending per student has fallen over 20 per cent, leading to a decline in staff-student ratios.

At a time when the government proclaims the need for Australia to become a clever country, exposed as it is to the competition of the hi-tech world and the Asian Tigers, the recent budget reduced the allocation to a cash-strapped, demoralised CSIRO — Australia's principal scientific research institute.

Additionally, the Keating government has privatised two of Australia's greatest icons — Qantas and the Commonwealth Bank.

The Keating government bears little resemblance to what is generally regarded as a Labour government. It is certainly less interventionist and less an upholder of the public sector than the Liberal (Conservative) government that preceded it.

Is Keating, therefore, a worthy role model for Tony Blair to lead Britain out of the Tory wilderness?
Harold Levien,
Dover Heights, NSW, Australia

Conspiracy in Kashmir?

THE FAILURE of Indian authorities to rescue the five western tourists kidnapped by a shadowy Al-Faran signifies one of two possibilities. Tired of the six-year-long armed resistance in Jammu-Kashmir, the Indian government and her security forces have either lost the will to enforce authority or they are deeply involved in this latest kidnapping saga.

All the facts in this case point to the latter. Unlike in the past, all appeals from Kashmiri leaders have been ignored. The groups to which the 21 jailed freedom fighters belong have dissociated themselves from this saga and suspect the hand of the Indian secret agencies. Kidnapping is counter-productive as it deprives Kashmir of tourist income, overshadows state repression and undermines international support for self-determination.
Amjat A Khan,
(Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front — UK), Bradford

Briefly

AS A SCOT, I have become accustomed to a general reluctance on the part of the English media to recognise that a country exists north of Hadrian's Wall.

Even so, the latest example from an English-based company which advertises in the Guardian Weekly and which professes to be international, surprised me. In response to their claim that they made loans available to expatriates to buy a home in the United Kingdom, I wrote to Bristol West International. In their reply, they intimated that they "are . . . unable to lend in Scotland".
Norman Christie,
Gaborone, Botswana

SHOULD America apologise for dropping the atomic bomb? Should Japan apologise for its treatment of Allied prisoners? Should America apologise for fire bombing Tokyo? We have heard all these suggested, but there is only a single apology needed. Japan should apologise for starting the war, for it was that single act which led on to all the other horrors.
John L Cox,
Teddington, Middlesex

I CAN'T understand why the Indian government is making life so difficult for Calcutta Rescue, whose sole purpose is to help destitute street people.

The only explanation I can think of is that the bureaucrats concerned see Calcutta life from over the rim of well-fed stomachs. A short spell of pavement life would, I am sure, change their perspective of what it means to be abandoned by almost everyone in a hard world.
Vincent Brereton,
Liverpool, Merseyside

COLIN LUCKHURST (Going bats in the belfry, July 16) maintains that ringing outside UK is "very much an adaptation of the tradition". Surely he means "adoption" of tradition, as neither the mechanics of ringing bells, nor the methods rung are adapted in overseas towers. Grandsire Triples sounds the same (if well struck) anywhere in the world. The "ringing" world includes, moreover, not only the "old dominions" but USA, with towers in cities as diverse as Miami, Washington and Honolulu.
Susan Benson,
Victoria, Canada

NOW THAT the UN Criminal Tribunal has charged Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic with genocide and crimes against humanity, can we be assured that their voices, in television interviews, will be spoken by actors?
Brian P Moss,
Tamworth, Staffordshire

August 20, 1995 Vol 153 No 8

Annual subscription rates are £47 (United Kingdom); £52 (Europe inc. Eire); £55 USA and Canada; £60 Rest of World.
Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ.
Fax: 44-171-242-0985 (UK: 0171-242 0985). e-mail: weekly@guardian.co.uk.

West Bank gets restricted home rule

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

ISRAEL and the PLO have hammered out an agreement to give Palestinians a form of home rule in the main West Bank cities before the end of the year.

But the deal, struck after a week of day and night bargaining session between the Israeli foreign minister, Shimon Peres, and the PLO chairman, Yasser Arafat, will leave Israel as the occupying power in much of the territory.

In the recent but familiar tradition of Israel-PLO negotiations, they left aside the most contentious issue: security arrangements in the volatile city of Hebron.

Full details have yet to be published, but the outline includes Israeli withdrawal of its troops from six of the seven main West Bank towns — Nablus, Ramallah, Jenin, Tulkarm, Qalqilya, and Bethlehem — before elections for a new Palestinian autonomy council. The elections are unlikely to be held before next year, but in the meantime the existing Palestinian Authority, based in the Gaza Strip, will be given wide administrative powers in the West Bank.

Three more phases of Israeli army redeployment, at six-month intervals, will further extend Palestinian security control over the 400 or more villages of the West Bank and the land which connects them.

The 140 or so Jewish settlements will initially remain under Israeli security control. Some may be evacuated or transferred to Palestinian control in the later stages of redeployment, which will take place after the expected May 1996 start of talks on a permanent peace treaty.

The immediate future of Hebron, where about 450 fanatical Jewish settlers live in the heart of a city of 60,000 Palestinians, remains undecided.



An Israeli settler threatens a Palestinian in Beit El, in the West Bank. A hundred Palestinians stormed the site, illegally occupied by Jewish settlers. One protester died after settlers opened fire

Rebels behead Kashmir hostage

Richard Norton-Taylor and Suzanne Goldenberg

FEARS for the lives of four westerners, including two Britons, held by the extremist al-Faran Kashmiri separatist group increased after their kidnappers beheaded a Norwegian hostage. The group threatened to kill more hostages on Tuesday.

The separatists are holding Keith Mangan and Paul Wells, together with an American, Donald Hutchings, and a German, Dirk Hasert. The flower-bedecked coffin of a fifth hostage, Hans-Christian Ostro, a Norwegian tourist, was flown to New Delhi on Monday aboard a military aircraft.

The Indian government said it had contacted the kidnappers but appeared to rule out any idea of exchanging jailed Kashmiri separatists for the western hostages. "There is no question of releasing any militant in exchange for the foreign tourists held hostage by the militants in the Kashmir valley," the Indian news agency PTI quoted the security minister, Rajesh Pilot, as saying.

However, an Indian intermediary on Monday made fresh contact with the kidnappers. "What we have decided is that, notwithstanding what happened, we should continue our dialogue," the home minister, K Padmanabhaiah, said.

Indian officials held crisis talks to try to find a way of winning the release of the hostages, amid suggestions that a "tactical operation" might be mounted to free them. So far, officials have tried to negotiate an end to the crisis while refusing to give in to the kidnappers' demand to free 21 jailed militants. A source said the negotiators had received no prior warning of the murder of Ostro.

In January 1990, India freed four jailed militants to win the release of the daughter of the former home minister, Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, held for 13 days by separatists.

There was confusion on Monday about the nature of the kidnappers' deadline. The Kashmiri state government spokesman, Kulbushan Jandial, said no deadline was set in an Urdu-language note issued on Sunday, which demanded only that the prisoners be released "quickly". Reporters were not allowed to see the note and the text was not released.

In London, the Foreign Office insisted that the British government's policy was "not to accede to the demands of kidnappers", The Foreign Office minister, Sir Nicholas Bonsor, described the killing of Ostro as "barbaric", responsibility for which rested with the kidnappers and no one else.

He added: "At this critical time we have redoubled our efforts with the other governments concerned to try and bring about an early and safe release of the remaining hostages."

But Sir Nicholas described the outlook as grim. "I am afraid this particular group are not mainline terrorists and therefore not rational," he said.

Although al-Faran continues to demand the release of several prisoners, Indian officials say privately that the kidnappers are concerned with only three — all Pakistani or Afghan nationals and members of the Harkat-ul-Ansar, a Muslim fundamentalist group with a heavy contingent of Afghan and Pakistani fighters.

The killing of Ostro, whose bullet-ridden and decapitated body was found near the town of Anantnag, has shocked Kashmiris. The All-Party Hurriyet Conference, which represents more than 30 secessionist parties, called a one-day strike tomorrow to show its disgust. The strike marks the first time a Kashmiri separatist party has protested at the acts of one of its fellow travellers.

A note apparently written by Ostro and found in his underclothes indicates he had not expected to survive the kidnap, an Indian spokesman said.

Comment, page 12

Kenyan thugs beat up Leakey

Greg Barrow in Nairobi

RICHARD LEAKEY, the white Kenyan conservationist-turned-politician, was beaten up by suspected pro-government thugs last week as police looked on.

He was one of several opposition activists and journalists who were attacked with pick-axe handles and whips during a visit to the politically volatile Rift Valley town of Nakuru.

At a news conference in Nairobi, Mr Leakey took off his shirt to display six welts on his back, and a number of bruises. He displayed an assortment of sticks and stones which he said had been thrown through his car windows.

Louise Tunbridge, a British journalist who was badly beaten in a later incident, asked policemen watching the attack on Mr Leakey why they did nothing to stop it. "They just smirked and smiled. It was obviously organised as an attack and they knew their part in it," she said.

Mr Leakey was in Nakuru with members of his opposition party Safina to monitor court proceedings involving a colleague. They also planned to visit one of their founder members, Koigi wa Wamwere, who is in jail awaiting judgment in a case which could result in the death sentence.

Mr Leakey said the attack appeared to have been carried out by supporters of President Daniel arap Moi's government. It began while he was talking to colleagues at the entrance to Nakuru court house.

"I was suddenly hit by a missile, I think it was an egg," he said. "The next thing I knew, I got an enormous thump on the back with a whip. I made it to my car, and as I got in I was thoroughly thrashed." His attackers then smashed his windscreen with a pick-axe handle.

He warned that the attacks represented a new turn in the government's campaign to discredit Safina. "They are trying to set us up," he said. "It is clear that they are trying to make out that Safina is a party of anarchy and violence."

Other Safina members said they were surrounded by an angry crowd of up to 200 armed men when they tried to visit Koigi wa Wamwere in Nakuru prison. They said they had evidence that the assailants included plain-clothes police and young supporters of the governing Kanu party.

"We're living on borrowed time," said one. "The police and the authorities have shown that they support this thuggery and will try to crush us, but we will continue our struggle because it is a small price to pay for democracy in Kenya."

Police officers claimed to have no knowledge of the attack.

Donor countries have expressed deep concern at the level of political violence in Kenya, and the harassment of opposition MPs and activists.

Asia leads in corruption

Ian Katz in New York

INDONESIA is the world's most corrupt country and New Zealand the most honest, according to a study of international corruption by an independent graft watchdog.

The Corruption Index, produced by the Berlin-based Transparency International, says that bribery and kickbacks are rife in China, Pakistan, Venezuela and Brazil. Scandinavian countries score highest for clean business practices.

It is based on a poll of polls carried out for the group by the University of Gottingen, Germany. The study awards each country a score between one and 10, zero denoting a state where "business transactions are entirely penetrated by corruption involving immense sums of kickbacks, extortion, fraud etc".

"Nine countries score less than three, including Italy (2.99), Brazil (2.70), Venezuela (2.66) and China (2.16). Asian countries occupy six of the bottom 10 positions in the table.

A striking Asian exception is Singapore, which was named as the world's third cleanest country, with a score of 9.26. Denmark was second with 9.32, while Canada and Australia both scored highly.

Britain was ranked joint 11th with Ireland of the 41 countries analysed — not quite as squeaky clean as the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries but considerably less corrupt than Germany, France and the United States.

In many countries, particularly in Asia, accepting pay-offs is not considered unethical even if westernising governments have sought to make them illegal. In a recent poll conducted by the Far Eastern Economic Review, a third of business leaders said they would rather bribe a potential buyer than lose a big sale.

Mr Lambsdorff's study provides few surprises, though Americans will doubtless be perplexed to discover that their country is more corrupt than Chile and France. Belgium will object to the suggestion that it is worse than Hong Kong.

The survey largely neglects Africa, ranking only South Africa, which comes in just behind Japan but well ahead of Spain, Portugal and Argentina.

Chechen peace talks still on

RUSSIAN and Chechen military commanders met for talks on Tuesday, one day after Moscow threatened to crack down on rebel forces if they did not accept its terms for implementing a military deal, *writes Lawrence Sheets in Grozny*.

"How can we fulfil the agreement when the Russians give us ultimatum after ultimatum?" Aslan Maskhadov, the Chechen chief of staff, complained to reporters as he went into the talks in the Chechen capital Grozny.

No details were available of what he would discuss with Anatoly Romanov, Russia's troop commander in Chechenia.

Moscow issued a strong statement on Monday signalling its patience had run out over the rebels' failure to disarm under the agreement signed on July 30. It was intended to end months of fighting and form the basis of further peace efforts.

The statement, in which the Russian government accused separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev of trying to radically alter the terms of the deal, raised the prospect of renewed fighting.

Under the agreement, rebel forces are to be disarmed in return for a partial Russian troop withdrawal. The deal also provides for an exchange of prisoners and a ceasefire.

Distant artillery explosions could be heard during the night in Grozny but it was not clear who was shooting. Itar-Tass news agency said seven Russian servicemen had been wounded in overnight rebel attacks.
— Reuter

Refugees go home to roost

The displaced people of former Yugoslavia may one day exact a terrible revenge, writes Ian Traynor

MIRA'S heading for the other side. A Serb from Zagreb, married to another Serb from Zagreb, and mother of two sons, she's lived half of her 40 years in Croatia's capital.

She won't live there much longer. As the whirlwind of bigotry, politically-inspired hatred and ethnic violence destroys the fabric of the Balkans, she's had enough. She won't commit her sons to a future of persecution, discrimination and joblessness which they will certainly face as Serbs in Croatia, and is joining the current mass migration of Serbs to the east, to take their chances among their own kind.

Like millions of others in former Yugoslavia, she is a victim, about to pack a few belongings in a couple of bags and leave all her past life behind. A victim, like so many before her in this conflict. But what she does not know is that she is also a toy, and a weapon, in the hands of the crazed cynics who pass for politicians in former Yugoslavia, who are responsible for the calculated and systematic policy of forced displacement of human lives through violence, terror, and destruction that has given us the term "ethnic cleansing".

In the past three years, more than one in three Bosnians, most of them Muslim, have been uprooted and dispossessed by the Serb campaign of territorial expansion and ethnic separation. Of Bosnia's pre-war population of 4.3 million, some 1.2 million have been displaced. Most of them are in the over-crowded government-held cities of central Bosnia and in Sarajevo, where this peasant influx has inevitably devastated the previous urban cultures, spawning sour and radicalised communities.

These new conurbations, subsisting on international handouts and festering with a pervasive sense of grievance, simultaneously nourish the ambitions of populist Muslim nationalist leaders and form an increasingly powerful lobby which colours Bosnian politics and constrains the government's options.

But it was not the Muslims of Bosnia who initiated the demographic games that this week have almost completely redrawn the ethnic map of old Yugoslavia. This was firstly a Serbian project, a scheme that necessitated uprooting hundreds of thousands of people from their ancestral lands just to make real the deranged dreams of extremist intellectuals in Belgrade who had been originally encouraged by their president, Slobodan Milosevic.

The project started in the mainly Albanian-populated province of Kosovo, south of Serbia, in the eighties. This weekend, the project is returning to Kosovo with Milosevic, true to form, trying to solve one problem by reviving another — he intends to resettle some of the influx of Serb peasant refugees from Croatia in Kosovo in an attempt to redress the ethnic balance in Kosovo.

For this week's epic journey of 100,000 Croatian Serbs making their exodus to Serbia and so tragically ending 400 years of Serb culture in rural Croatia, presents Belgrade's politicians with a huge dilemma and a big opportunity. What are they to do with them? Already the embittered refugees are blaming Milosevic for their plight, and look likely to swell the ranks of the extremist opposition. But Milosevic, by sending some of them to Kosovo, is already seeking to use the refugee columns as a demographic weapon. And so another disaster awaits.

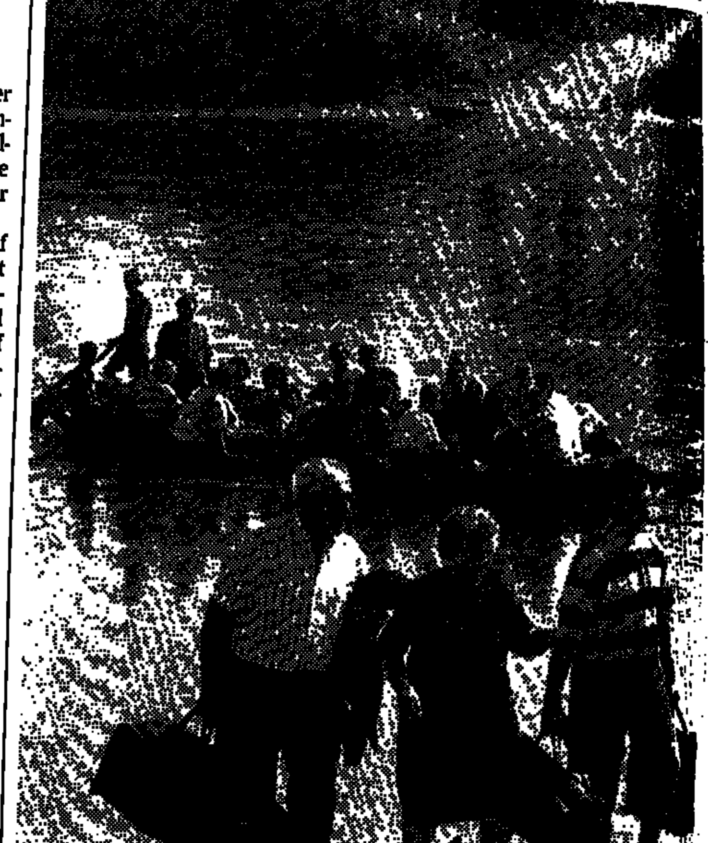
The 6 million Albanians of the southern Balkans, divided between three contiguous countries — Albania; Kosovo, which is the rump of Yugoslavia; and Macedonia — are the youngest and fastest growing ethnic group in Europe. Within a generation, probably before, sheer force of numbers will have engendered an expansionist, unionist Albanian campaign, and produced the nationalist leaders who will be eager to ride this tiger.

As for the Croats, the regime of President Franjo Tudjman has just passed up a heaven-sent opportunity to seize the moral high ground and begin a possible reversal of Balkan apartheid. Croatia's campaign of the past few weeks to vanquish the rebel Serbs of the Krajina did lead to atrocities (although not remotely on the scale of Serb conduct in Bosnia). When the Krajina's defences proved to be paper-thin and its rulers absconded, the entire Serb population fled eastward.

Tens of thousands of them were stranded for days in Croatia, only an hour from Zagreb. Many of them, while following the columns, were hesitant. They might have stayed. The cycle of politically-controlled collective hysteria could have been broken had Tudjman been genuinely committed to acting to back his own propaganda, which was urging Serb civilians to stay.

BUT HE did nothing. He perceived a different heaven-sent opportunity — the historic chance to rid the Croatian state of its nuisance Serb minority. Croatia will be the poorer. Of course, the Croatian refugees driven out by the Serb rebellion in 1991 will now return. But there are just not enough of them.

Many of the politicians and military commanders responsible for these horrors are themselves country boys from the rural fringes of their respective nations: frontier fanatics. On the Serb side, Milosevic is half-Montenegrin from the Serb provinces and Radovan Karadzic migrated to the city he is destroying, Sarajevo, from a Montenegrin village. Western Herzegovina, which is home to the most virulent strain of Croatian nationalism, was also home to Gojko Susak, Croatia's



Moving tide . . . Croatian refugees forced out of Serb-held Bosnia this week reach safety in Croatia PHOTOGRAPH: NIKOLA SOLIC

hardline defence minister, before he joined the nationalist diaspora in Canadian exile.

Ultimately, these reprobates who sponsored and licensed the massive ethnic dislocations and population transfers will be hostages of their own ruthless programmes. To a certain extent, this is already happening, particularly in Belgrade, where that deranged dream of all Serbs living together in one state is now coming full circle, coming back to haunt Milosevic.

One state, indeed. But not the expanded Greater Serbia as first imagined by the Belgrade academics and historians. The Serbs of Croatia are now pouring into the original state of Serbia, and will soon be followed by many from Bosnia.

Hitler's expansionist quest for Lebensraum ended in collapse, and 12 million Germans being kicked out of eastern Europe into a smaller Germany at the end of the second world war. In a different time, and on a different scale, Milosevic's insane scheme has also gone into fast rewind. The demographic game of ethnic separation is almost complete.

Mira and millions like her are the innocent victims, of course. But Milosevic and his counterparts may yet also be victims of the refugees' revenge.

Hate bows out on the slow road to Serbia

Jonathan Steele accompanies a young Belgrade woman on her agonising quest for news of her parents, expelled from Krajina

GORDANA GRUBJESIC has high cheekbones, striking blue-grey eyes, and the tall, slim physique of a model. She works in the Serbian fashion business and picks up extra money as a translator for foreign journalists. It is a good life which puts her into the narrow category of the carefree Belgrade élite.

But the past 10 days have been the worst she has known. Her parents and two married sisters lived in Krajina. The elderly couple were in a village on the front line, one of the first places shelled and occupied by the Croats during their lightning seizure of the region.

Gordana had no news for a week. Were they alive on a convoy snaking its way on clogged roads to the safety of Serbia, or had they been hit in the Croatian attack?

Last week she heard that both sisters and their families had reached Serbia. But when we set off to see one of them in Sabac, a town close to the Bosnian border, her parents' fate was unknown.

A Serb who lived in Croatia until 1991, Gordana calls herself one of "the last Yugoslav generation, people who never thought about our friends' ethnic background".

She moved to the Serbian capital in 1991, the first time she had lived in a place with a Serb majority, an issue which never used to matter. "By then the war with Croatia was about to start and the atmosphere told me that it was, after all, better for a Serb to be in a Serbian city."

We stopped in Surcin, 10 miles from Belgrade, to check fresh reports that Croatian families were being evicted by refugees. The Catholic church was padlocked, but in front of the house next door a couple were sitting on a public bench. A girl of about eight was on her father's knee. A gangling adolescent brother was beside them.

The house belonged to a Croatian family and everything seemed normal. A small crowd gathered, an argument started, and it became clear that we were watching a scene in a recurring drama.

"None of the Croats has offered to help the refugees, even if they have a large house with only two people," said a Serb.

"The Croats here are honest people," an elderly fellow in a blue shirt chipped in.

"What? Do you mean Serbs aren't honest?" snapped a white-haired man. "The Ustashe killed my wife two years ago." The second world war phrase for the Croatian fascists is a commonplace term for all Croatians again.

Suddenly the little girl burst into tears. Then we twigged that the family on the bench were refugees.

"See how the Croats are not afraid to argue with us publicly in the middle of Serbia," her father said. It was his way of proving that Serbs are more civilised. "Why didn't they show the same courage in Croatia instead of attacking civilians?"

The Croats moved off. The little girl's father said bitterly: "The Croats close their doors. They don't even offer water to anyone."

He and his family had at first looked for shelter in Belgrade, he explained, because they had distant relatives there. It turned out the people they had turned to were already full. Now they had nowhere to go.

Sitting resolutely on that bench they looked pathetic, but for the Croat family inside the house, it was no doubt menacing: especially when there were tougher and angrier Serbs nearby to help.

A fat fellow came up and started shouting at us to leave. He was a policeman from Knin, capital of the fallen region of Krajina. Foreign journalists were liars and enemies, he told the crowd. When he learned that the reporters with me were Italian, he screamed abuse about the Pope. Gordana suggested we leave. When she explained that her parents were also from Krajina and she still did not know whether they were alive, the thug softened.

On the way to Sabac, where one sister's family had taken refuge with in-laws, Gordana said their escape through Serb-held territory in northern Bosnia had been nothing like as bad as the journey through Croatia that her other sister made.

"Their car was stolen by the Croats. They were forced out of it and got a lift with other people. The Croats took all the nice-looking and newer cars. In one place my sister said Croats had put a wooden cross by the roadside with a headless corpse on it — just a warning."

When we arrived in a new housing estate in Sabac, there were excited cries and the sisters embraced. "My parents are alive," Gordana shouted back to us.

Her sister had just that the old couple were safe. Their village, Kestenak, was seized at the start of the Croatian attack. Two people were killed and the others put on lorries by Croatian troops.

In Sica, the first Croatian village — cut off for four years when Krajina broke from Croatia — neighbours persuaded the Croatian troops to let the arrested Serbs go. In the long peace-time years the farmers of Kestenak had always got along with the farmers of Sica.

One more hint that all is not lost in former Yugoslavia was to come. In the street an athletic young man bounded up and kissed Gordana on both cheeks. A friend of her sister's family, he was a Croat, but remains an officer in the Yugoslav National Army. He joined before the country fell apart and although the YNA is under complete Serb control, he carries on "without any problem".

We told him of the heavy artillery we had seen going to Eastern Slavonia to hold the line against the Croats. Did the high command of the YNA weed Croats out of front-line units, we asked? "Not at all," he said. "We joined the army to fight against nationalism. That is the enemy."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
August 20 1995

Sex scandal threat hangs over Gingrich

Jonathan Freedland in Washington

NEWT GINGRICH and his aides were engaged in a frantic effort at damage control last week, as allegations of extra-marital affairs threatened to engulf the Republican Speaker in a sex scandal.

Democrats were gloating over claims that Mr Gingrich was a "Republican Bill Clinton" who had been serially unfaithful in his first marriage and was having deep troubles in his second.

Mr Gingrich's spokesman, Tony Blankley, condemned the accusations — aired in the latest edition of Vanity Fair — as "tabloid psychobabble". "It's trash," he said. "I don't see any reason to get into hateful allegations from hateful people from 20 years ago. It's too low on the food chain to justify serious comment."

Mr Gingrich himself said only, "I haven't read the article."

But senior Democrats warned the scandal could puncture Mr Gingrich's claims to be a champion of family values.

The magazine interviewed Anne Manning, an Englishwoman who says she had an affair with Mr Gingrich in 1976 when he was a lowly, but married congressman. He allegedly threatened Ms Manning: "If you ever tell anybody about this, I'll say you're lying."

Former aides revealed that Mr Gingrich repeatedly had affairs with young campaign volunteers.

Potentially most damaging are hints that the Speaker's infidelity extends into his present marriage. The magazine names a woman whom it describes as Mr Gingrich's "frequent breakfast companion".

Vanity Fair spoke to 70 people for the article, including the Speaker himself. The allegations could harm Mr Gingrich, who has not ruled out a 1996 run for the presidency. The Christian right wing of the Republican party has never felt fully comfortable with the Speaker, who they regard as not a real social conservative. Last week he attacked Republican hardliners for being too extreme on abortion and race.

If would also be difficult for Republicans to attack President Clinton on "character" issues, if their brightest star is proved to be similarly vulnerable.

Ms Manning says she is breaking her silence because she believes Newt Gingrich has come to believe he is above the law. "He's morally dishonest. He should be stopped before it's too late," she tells the magazine.

Democrats said the claims would reinforce the bad impression left from other controversies, including charges under review by the House ethics committee that Mr Gingrich had a conflict of interest when he accepted a $4.5 million book advance from publishers owned by Rupert Murdoch.

"It all seems to paint a picture of a fairly troubled man engaged in some behaviour that was questionable to say the least," said one party official.

Credence was lent to the claims by the Speaker's wife, quoted in the same article. Marianne Gingrich says she does not want her husband to run for the White House, and that she could easily ruin his chances by spilling the beans. "I just go on the air the next day, and I undermine everything," she said.

Clinton pledges N-test ban

Ian Katz in New York

PRESIDENT CLINTON defied the Pentagon last week by calling for a permanent end to all nuclear testing, abandoning an earlier policy of seeking exemption for tests involving very small amounts of radioactive material.

Senior officials said Mr Clinton had decided to throw his weight behind a so-called true zero test ban, despite Pentagon claims that small tests were necessary to establish whether defective nuclear weapons had been properly repaired.

Announcing his decision, Mr Clinton said he hoped it would pave the way to the signing of an international test ban treaty next year. "A comprehensive test ban is the right step as we continue pulling back from the nuclear precipice," he said.

Until recently, the Clinton administration was saying it wanted an exemption for so-called hydro-nuclear testing, a highly sophisticated technique which uses fluid dynamics to model an atomic explosion using only the equivalent of 4lb of TNT.

Observers say Mr Clinton was emboldened to push for a total ban by the public outcry at France's decision to resume testing and the publicity surrounding the 50th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

"It's a real signal that public opinion and protest does affect policy," said Dan Plesch, director of the British-American Security Information Council, an arms control group. "It ends hopes of a resumption of testing."

The Pentagon's insistence that limited testing was necessary was undermined two weeks ago when a group of eminent physicists and nuclear weapons designers said that small nuclear tests would not significantly improve the safety or reliability of the US arsenal.

Instead the panel advised the administration to take steps to improve the monitoring of the nuclear stockpile and increase support for America's three centres for nuclear weapons design facilities in New Mexico and California.

Senior officials said Mr Clinton secured the support of the defence secretary, William Perry, and the national security adviser, Anthony Lake, by promising to adopt the scientists' recommendations.

To appease the Pentagon, Mr Clinton said he would insist on a clause letting the US conduct tests if doubts about the safety or reliability of weapons made it in the country's "supreme national interest" to do so.

The US move came a day after the French negotiator at the nuclear testing talks in Geneva said France was prepared to support a ban on all nuclear explosions. It torpedoes the slim hopes of American and British military planners of conducting a handful of tests before a comprehensive ban comes into force.

They came, they saw, they grovelled

All the US presidential hopefuls, bar Bill Clinton, paid homage to Ross Perot at the weekend. **Jonathan Freedland** reports from Dallas

HE HAD no throne, just a podium with a lectern that dwarfed him. He wore no crown, just a goofy grin that smirked like a Disney cartoon. He had no palace, just a convention centre in the city he has made his own.

Ross Perot didn't need the baubles of monarchy, because America's mighty came to kiss his rings anyway. All weekend the nation's leaders, real and potential, trekked to Perot's hometown of Dallas to seek his kingly blessing. They came, they saw, they grovelled.

Never before had so diverse a group of politicians convened for one event. Republican whirlwind Newt Gingrich was there, rubbing shoulders with leftwing firebreather Jesse Jackson. Suddenly, briefly, they were united in a shared spasm of bowing and scraping.

They had been summoned for the first convention of United We Stand America, the grassroots movement Ross Perot rapidly assembled in 1992 to propel his quirky campaign for the White House. Back then Perot spent $62 million of his vast fortune and succeeded in winning 19 per cent of the vote. That was enough to deprive George Bush of victory and to send Bill Clinton to the White House.

But this time the billionaire's intentions are a mystery. They matter because where Ross Perot goes, one fifth of the American public could well follow. Not just any fifth, but the crucial block of floating voters which has, throughout recent history, picked the US president.

His significance goes beyond mere electoral arithmetic. It also touches on two crucial facts about contemporary US politics. First, no one demonstrates the American link between money and power more clearly than Perot. Second, he has earned a place in history as the man who first revealed the depth of Americans' hatred for their own government — a phenomenon whose effects have rippled on from 1992 to this very moment.

Hence the grovelling. One of Perot's most memorable slogans was his warning that a free trade deal with Mexico would be followed by "the giant sucking sound" of jobs being funnelled south. What was audible from Dallas over the weekend was the giant sucking-up sound of politicians anxious to win over a ready-made slab of voters by cooing over their leader.

"I'm frankly proud that Ross has stayed in the game, because he loves his country," slavered the usually combative Gingrich. "We don't always agree," the Speaker added bravely. "We agree about, I guess, 85 or 90 per cent of the time."

The 4,000-ish Perotistas cheered as House Democratic leader Dick Gephardt hailed the Texan tycoon as "a great American patriot". The Rev Jesse Jackson referred to him as "Brother Ross".

For the Republicans the goal was perverse: to flatter Perot into staying out of the next election. If he runs they fear he will repeat his 1992 trick, splitting the anti-Clinton vote and granting the president four more years. If Perot sits out 1996, he could decide the outcome anyway, by granting the endorsement that turns a wannabe into a winner. To that end, each of the nine major candidates for the Republican presidential nomination — all of whom made the journey to Dallas — fell over themselves to convince both their host and his fans that the Perot message was safe in their hands.

The original Perotistas are unlikely to transfer their affections to another suitor easily. Many remain devoted to Perot the man, still finding inspiration in his remarkable Horatio Alger odyssey from humble Texarkana roots to ownership of the Electronic Data Systems corporation, which was eventually sold to General Motors for an estimated $3 billion. They love his ukulele voice, his down-home wisdom, his can-do attitude — typified by his 1979 commando-style raid on revolutionary Tehran to free two jailed EDS workers. They point to the poll last Friday showing him with 26 per cent support, an improvement on 1992, and swear he can win.

"I'd feel I'd died and gone to heaven if Ross Perot ran again," said Adriane Roth, a former teacher from California who forked out the cost of a flight, hotel room and even a $100 admission fee — such is her devotion to the little man from Texas. In the nearby exhibition hall a mock stained-glass window illuminated the words, "In Perot We Trust". No one seemed to take offence that Perot's name was there as a substitute for God's.

Among these adoring supporters there is great disappointment that the billionaire did not simply build on the breakthrough of 1992 and create a third party, with himself as leader. In the months leading up to the weekend conference, United We Stand groups held more than 500 meetings across the country to discuss forming a new party. Dallas was meant to be the culmination. Instead, it became a beauty contest for aspirants from the political establishment — with discussion of a new party relegated to "workshops" on the final day.

The disappointment has turned into anger, some of it directed at Perot himself. "We all wish we'd formed a third party," says Jim Welch, a volunteer from Sugarland, Texas, leafleting delegates outside the hall. "Instead we bought the Democrat and Republican story one more time. And one more time we were betrayed. But the train for a third party is leaving. With or without Ross, it's leaving."

Like the early SDP in Britain, many of the founders of United We Stand arrived as political virgins. Perot was the first candidate they had ever worked for, the man who initiated them into electoral politics. His appeal rested precisely on his status as a non-politician, a proven businessman from outside the old Washington system he had declared broken and corrupt.

The sight of him consorting now with the "politics-as-usual crowd" was too much for some to stomach. The air was cloudy with talk of breakaways and walkouts, further splits in an already riven organisation.

From the platform came a direct plea to the Perotistas not to go their own separate way, but to join the Republican fold. "We have a third party," Newt assured them. "It's the House Republicans." Congressman Bob Dornan also urged change from within the system. "You must learn the inside-the-Beltway, secret language, you've gotta break the code," he said, his face flushing. "You've gotta get involved."

So far the indications are encouraging for the Republicans, with most polls showing that former Perot voters have shifted their way. The Republican landslide in the mid-term elections last year was partly the handiwork of Perotistas who heeded the great man's call to give the Republicans "a chance at bat" after 40 years of Democratic control of Congress.

The November elections revealed the enduring strength of the Perot army in another way, too. The Contract with America, the Republicans' winning manifesto, could have been written by United We Stand. The contract's demands for congressmen to be subject to the same laws they pass for everyone else, for a balanced budget, for slimmed-down government bureaucracy, reform of campaign finance and lower taxes were straight lifts from the Perot shopping list.

In this the Republicans, and Newt Gingrich in particular, have been canny beyond measure. Realising that the Perot bloc now holds the balance of power, the Republicans have consciously set out to pull them into a coalition — just as Richard Nixon chased the southern supporters of segregationist George Wallace after his strong independent showing in 1968. By 1972, Nixon had brought the Wallace voters on board — and won by an avalanche.

President Clinton has done no such thing with the Perotistas, and has little hope now. A hot seller in Dallas was the Clinton Countdown watch, with a digital readout of how many days the president has left in the White House (449). "Slick Willy" golfballs — "Guaranteed a Good Lie" — were also available.

The Democrat strategy has been to write off any dreams of co-opting the Perot people, and to bank on a re-run of 1992. Clinton reckons Perot can do for him what the Liberal Democrats did for Margaret Thatcher throughout the 1980s — split the opposition. Perhaps calculating on keeping the fickle magnate irritated enough to become a candidate again, Clinton boycotted the Dallas-fest, sending an unstellar aide instead. It was a slight slight, but it might just have done the trick.

IF THERE is no third party, and no sudden volte-face on Clinton, the only question left is which Republican will pick up Perot's loyalists. "They'll end up supporting whoever is the Republican nominee — provided he's a populist," said Frank Luntz, the 32-year-old pollster, consultant and general boy wonder who served as Perot's political sorcerer in the 1992 campaign. "It has to be someone who can establish a relationship with the electorate like Perot did. The only one who can't do that is Dole. Dole is such a Washington insider."

This is the critical point. What gave the Perot movement its turbo-thrust in 1992 was its loud, clear message of hostility to the federal government. No one had ever heard or articulated that feeling before.

Now these ideas have become commonplace. They are the cliched gripes of the Angry White Males; they are, when amplified, the shouted claims of the armed militias and conspiracy theorists, whose outer fringe apparently spawned the Oklahoma City bombing. Today they are understood to be the defining trend in US politics, but Perot said them first.

The evidence that Perot's paranoid brand of antipathy to government has not faded was on show aplenty in Dallas. There were displays on "Who's Who of the Elite" revealing the coalition of international bankers and globalists pulling the strings in Washington, and Media Bypass, a magazine which enables citizens to get real news unfiltered by the liberal media. Outside was a group of protesters whose T-shirts carried the catchy, if unlikely, slogan, "I'm Anti United Nations, New World Order, Ecumenicalism, Feminism!"

In this universe, even in its most moderate form, someone like Bob Dole is doomed — even if polls say he is the Republican frontrunner. After 36 years as a senator, he strikes the Perot faithful as an example of the problem, not the solution.

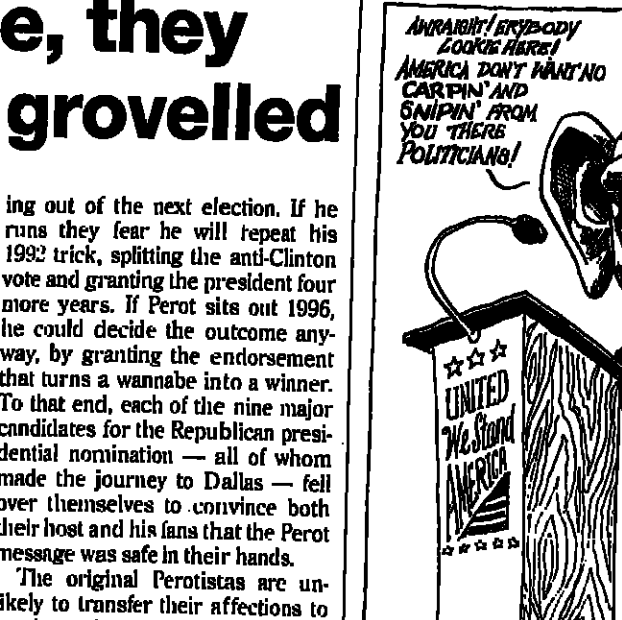
Small wonder, then, that the man who stole the show was the ultra-populist former TV commentator, Pat Buchanan. He delivered a red-meat speech demanding the abolition of foreign aid, the sealing of the American border to prevent illegal immigration, an America First foreign policy and a "culture war" on feminism and multiculturalism. The men and women of the Perot army — all ages, from all over the country, and overwhelmingly white — leapt on to their chairs, whooping and cheering until they were hoarse.

This was partly because Buchanan is a first-rate orator, partly because he grovelled in all the right places, and partly because economic protectionism — opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico for example — is a shared obsession of Buchanan's and Perot's. But the ovations were mainly due to Buchanan's stance as the populist outsider and that, for all its quasi-fascistic overtones, is the place to be in today's American political contest.

It is, of course, monumentally ironic that the man who should have uncorked this populist genie is a billionaire several times over. Yet it was an irony no one in Dallas seemed to notice or care about. "Our freedom and our tradition of over 200 years is too important to let it be bought off in a wave of money," said Gingrich into his Perot-funded microphone, without a hint of embarrassment.

Far from avoiding the topic, Perot has made a pet theme of the need to separate politics from money and its power to corrupt. In this view the fact that Perot owes all his influence solely to his bank account is a good thing. It means he's not a slave to the vested interests he might otherwise need to bankroll his campaigns. The various speakers who called for campaign finance reform all had this latter phenomenon in mind, rather than the more impolitic fact that a computer tycoon can buy TV time and thereby sway the course of a presidential election.

Whether he will do so again next year is rapidly becoming a million-dollar question. Some say he is reluctant about turning UWSA into a full-blown third party because he doesn't much fancy the accountability a formal leadership role would entail. Others condemned the Dallas weekend as a big ego trip for a little man who enjoyed watching the titans of Washington bend their knee — adding that vanity alone will make it hard for Perot to sit on the sidelines in 1996. "It wouldn't surprise me if you see Ross in there," says Jim Squires, who served as press secretary last time round. After all, even a king has to have fun.



What Ross Perot wants

- ❑ Drastic cuts in public spending to reduce the national debt.
- ❑ Reform of political campaign financing, to prevent "special interests" buying up politicians.
- ❑ Term-limits. Restrictions on how long congressmen and senators can stay in office.
- ❑ Protectionism. Termination of free-trade treaties and assertion of an America First trade policy.
- ❑ A crackdown on illegal immigration.
- ❑ An overhaul of the welfare state, targeting benefits for single mothers.
- ❑ A restructuring of the health system, aimed at cutting red tape.
- ❑ A simpler, lighter tax code.
- ❑ Massive cuts in government bureaucracy.

Martin Walker is on holiday

The Week

MORE than 72 Thai "slave" workers were found after labour officials raided an illegal Los Angeles garment factory. The discovery is growing into a scandal as it becomes clear that the federal authorities and the Thai diplomatic mission both knew about the establishment.

A JURY in Los Angeles has found Heidi Fleiss, the "Hollywood madam", guilty of tax evasion and hiding money made from her prostitution ring. She now faces up to five years in prison and hundreds of thousands of dollars in fines.

IG FARBEN, the infamous German chemicals combine that worked thousands of slave labourers to death under the Nazis, has refused to compensate survivors, but said it would ask the government to do so.

FIFTY-FIVE skinheads were jailed for a week in the east German state of Saxony after trying to defy a ban on staging rallies in memory of Hitler's deputy, Rudolf Hess.

THE JUDGE trying Malawi's former dictator, Kamuzu Banda, for murder told state prosecutors to speed up. They proposed calling at least 100 witnesses, but only a handful have appeared since the trial began on July 10.

NEW RESEARCH by Chinese scientists claims that apes and monkeys, including the ancestors of humans, originated in east Asia and not in Africa.

MORE THAN 6,000 police were deployed in Argentina's second city, Cordoba, as striking workers brought it to a standstill in protest at a wave of unemployment that has plunged the traditionally affluent city into a deep depression.

BERMUDA'S referendum on independence from the UK was postponed on Tuesday as gales lashed the island and residents braced themselves for Hurricane Felix.

GREECE'S ruling Socialist Party, Pasok, moved a step closer to collapse after an MP was dismissed from its ranks for criticising the party leader and prime minister, Andreas Papandreou, and his wife.

THE Sandinista Renovation Movement said it had chosen the former vice-president Sergio Ramirez as its presidential candidate for next year's elections in Nicaragua.

MICKEY MANTLE, the legendary baseball player, has died aged 63. He was closely identified with the glory days of the New York Yankees, the team he led to seven World Series titles between 1951 and 1968.

Inmates rot in Rwandan jail

Greg Barrow in Gitarama

IN Gitarama prison, the inmates are rotting. Almost 7,000 Hutus suspected of taking part in last year's genocide are crowded into a space built for 400.

Jean Nzaramba has been there for nine months. He has no space to sit, and stands day and night among the weak and elderly prisoners in the open courtyard: "My feet are rotting away," he says. "I have already lost two toes, they just fall off." He holds up his left foot, the skin bloated. Where his toes should have been are two green, gangrenous stumps.

Although the International Red Cross (IRC) has secured permission from the Rwandan government to treat the foot wounds of prisoners who stand week in, week out, on the damp, filthy floors of the prison, they cannot stop the rot.

When gangrene sets in, amputation is the only option for treatment. A one-legged prisoner returning to Gitarama knows that his days are numbered. It is a slow and painful death. In the rainy season earlier this year, the aid agency Médecins Sans Frontières counted at least five deaths a day. "Conditions were appalling in February and March," says an MSF doctor, Alison Davis. "Inmates cannot stand upright in that heat for that amount of time without having space to lie down. Legs were swelling and foot wounds were our main concern."

In the dry weather fewer inmates are dying from gangrenous wounds, but the frustration of living in such close confinement is taking its toll.

The "VIP lounge" is a subterranean cell known as "the cave". Here, former diplomats and government officials of the assassinated Hutu president Juvenal Habyarimana are afforded the benefit of beds and room to turn around. The air is dank from the bodies of those pressed inside, and it is impossible to escape the smell of decaying flesh.

The ordinary people are not afforded such luxury. "It's the law of the jungle," says Brigitte Troyon of the IRC. "The poor and the elderly have no chance. They get pushed into the open courtyard where they die or just lose the will to live."

Even the government admits that up to a third of the suspects may have been wrongly imprisoned. It says it is committed to resolving the overcrowding but it needs more time. "You have to remember there was a genocide," says the justice minister, Alphonse-Marie Nkubito. "There is an obligation for the international community to give us more help. We don't want to see the prisoners dead, we want them alive and judged."

Judgment may come too late for most inmates in Gitarama prison. One thousand have already died, and many more will perish before the courts begin working.

Saddam shaken

Continued from page 1

euphemism for the grandiose scheme, now suspended, to build medium-range missiles and weapons of mass destruction. He was responsible for recruiting Canadian scientist Gerald Bull and backing him with millions of dollars to build Project Babylon — his Supergun — halted after Bull was killed by a mystery gunman in Belgium.

Hussein Kamil's meteoric rise started after he married President Saddam's oldest and favourite daughter, Raghda. Before that he was a military motorcycle outrider. But after his marriage into the most powerful family in Iraq, nothing could block his rise to power — not even Uday, Saddam's 30-year-old son and vicious heir apparent.

Behind him, Hussein Kamil leaves a bewildered and demoralised country being devoured by Uday. Behind the public image of a man more interested in Ferraris than politics has lurked a streak of undiluted ambition that began to assert itself after he was pardoned for killing one of his father's retainers.

Starting earlier this year, a steady stream of leaked reports from Hussein Kamil's friends have disclosed that President Saddam has retreated from running the day-to-day affairs of state. As he advances in years — he is 58 — he seeks comfort from the teachings of Sufi mystics and the building of the world's biggest mosque, and is content with handing over the reins of power to Uday.

Last week Hussein Kamil heard from his wife that his dismissal was on the cards. Informed Jordanian sources say the Americans persuaded them to run. It is because of the US backing that King Hussein has rejected Uday's pleas to return President Saddam's daughters and their husbands to Iraq. When Uday arrived in Amman last week, the king could only grant him a 10-minute audience. The king backed Iraq during the Gulf war, but ever since his distaste has mounted for the mafia-style politics being played out in Baghdad.

Although only loyalists are permitted to stay alive in Saddam's inner circle, Uday's latest aim is to root out family members, government officials and army officers who sympathise with his sisters and their husbands. Identifying these pockets of resistance will also be the priority of CIA and State Department officials when they arrive in Amman this week to debrief the Iraqi rebels. — *The Observer*

The Week in Britain James Lewis

Blair and his 'kitchen cabinet' come under fire

TONY BLAIR'S honeymoon as leader of the "new" Labour party effectively ended last week when his policies and managerial style came under assault from several quarters. It was, admittedly, the height of the August "silly season", but the attacks were of sufficient gravity to cause the fax in the leader's Italian holiday villa to whirr into a frenzy.

The first to weigh in was Richard Burden, a little-known backbencher, who accused Mr Blair's "kitchen cabinet" of adopting a Stalinist leadership style aimed at stamping out dissent in a ruthless quest for power. He accused the party of abandoning its core beliefs and, like many other traditionalists, criticised its tactics in the recent Littleborough and Saddleworth byelection, when personal attacks were mounted on the victorious Liberal Democrat candidate.

It was not too difficult for the party's high command to scorn Mr Burden as a disappointed maverick. It was harder to dismiss claims by the former deputy leader, Roy Hattersley, that Mr Blair has been so obsessed with wooing middle-class voters that the party has not spoken up for the poor.

Nor can Mr Blair safely ignore powerful trade union leaders such as John Edmonds and Bill Morris. Mr Edmonds of the GMB protested that the new leader had forced through too many changes too quickly and had showed a total inability to compromise. He particularly castigated him for praising Lady Thatcher and travelling to Australia to court the media baron, Rupert Murdoch.

The left-wing Mr Morris, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, joined in with complaints of intolerance, of personally attacking political opponents and of "playing the man rather than the ball". This could well be a veiled reference to the recent, unsuccessful attempt to replace him with a leader more to Mr Blair's liking.

A final, stinging blow came on Monday from Bryan Gould, the former front-bencher who quit politics for the academic life in New Zealand. New Labour was now a party without an ideology, seeking only to please the public, he said. This was "FA Cup politics", in which winning power was all that mattered. First-time voters, with no knowledge of Labour's traditions and beliefs, would not be able to distinguish between it and any other party.

Mr Blair's approach could well be right. The party is on target to more than double its membership to 350,000 by the autumn. More than half of them will have joined since Mr Blair took office and have no political or trade union roots. In the same period, however, some 40,000 longer-standing members have failed to renew their subscriptions.

WOMEN have loosened the shackles of domestic drudgery, only to become weary drones in the workplace according to a Government report, compiled by the Central Statistical Office.

Researchers found that women's invasion of the workplace has eroded the sexual division of labour that cast women as homemakers and men as breadwinners. They now account for nearly 45 per cent of the paid workforce, compared with 37 per cent in 1971.

Their jobs, however, are still less well paid: 33 per cent of women earn under £190 a week compared with 13 per cent of men. And few women, it seems, have managed to persuade men to share domestic responsibility. This makes most of them doubly burdened: unable to compete properly at work, and too stressed to use their free time imaginatively.

Comment, page 12

LORD LUCAN, the wayward gambler and seventh earl, disappeared 21 years ago after his family's nanny, Sandra Rivett, was found bludgeoned to death. He may be dead. Or he could just be lying low — in Africa, some policemen believe.

Either way, he could soon face trial by celluloid. Two rival films about his life are being planned. One, an extravagant Hollywood production, will seek to show that Lucan did murder the nanny. The other, a more modest British work, will suggest his innocence.

Both face formidable legal problems. The main one concerns the prejudicial effect they could have on the trial Lucan would face if he were found. There are also concerns about the aspersions the films could cast on Lucan's wealthy friends, many of whom are still alive.

THE IDEA of banning private cars from city centres is, for the first time, supported by a majority of the British public, according to an opinion poll for the Guardian. The poll was taken after a long hot spell which has pushed traffic-generated ozone levels above recognised danger levels, and the Government is now consulting local authorities who want powers to shut city centres when air pollution rises to danger point.

The poll found a majority — 57 per cent of drivers and non-drivers — in favour of allowing only buses and taxis to enter city centres. Only 20 per cent of those polled thought the present traffic free-for-all in city centres should be allowed to continue.

Restricting congested areas to taxis and buses is but one suggestion. Others include doubling the price of fuel, and halving the rate of road-building, using the savings to improve public transport. But no action is likely before a general election.



Southern Water workers use an electro-magnetic pipe tracer to locate seepage PHOTOGRAPH: JON...

Water bans spread with drought

Guardian Reporters

DROUGHT is gripping Britain after the driest spell for 20 years, and with no prospect of rain in sight water companies are warning of continuing shortages with widespread hosepipe bans.

As the dry spell continued the Hadley Centre for Climate Prediction in Berkshire published latest research into climate change which showed temperatures in Britain are expected to climb steadily over the next few decades, confirming scientists' worst fears.

Most areas of England have had no rain at all so far in August when 3in (76mm) is the average. Apart from thunderstorms, very few areas have had any rain since mid-June and some have had none at all.

Labour and the privatised water companies last week clashed over claims by the shadow environment secretary, Frank Dobson, that the industry had failed to invest to stop widespread water leakages.

The Water Services Association (WSA), which represents the companies, accused Labour of using its customers as "pawns in a party political campaign" and said people wanted to be told the facts.

It blamed a succession of governments before 1989, but particularly Labour, for refusing to put up enough public money to allow the industry to improve the water supply system.

The WSA claimed that decades of governmental neglect could not be put right overnight.

However, Mr Dobson, who last week published a Labour report criticising the companies' performances in tackling leaks, attacked them for making large profits at the expense of improved supplies. About half of Britain's population — more than 26 million people — could have their water needs met in full from the quantities being wasted through leaking supply pipes, he claimed.

"Last year the 10 privatised water companies made £1.8 billion profits. Labour believes that given profits of this size, the water companies should be required to do more to stop their own leaks and help customers stop leaks from their own taps and pipes."

Two water chiefs on Sunday defended their high profits and record of investment as the threat of emergency drought orders extended from Yorkshire to both North West and South West Water.

Stuart Derwent, the managing director of Southern Water Services, which has banned hosepipes in 800,000 homes in Sussex, said the company's water leakage—running at 19 ½ million gallons a day—had been drastically reduced.

"Six years ago 26 per cent of water was being lost but last year the figure had been brought down to 14 per cent. We're still working very hard on it, because we want to see it lower."

With profits of £143 million last year, Southern spent £8 million dealing with leaks, said Mr Derwent, whose salary is £169,000 with a further £54,000 in share options.

The accusations of underspending stem from an agreement between the Government and the water companies before privatisation which allowed the introduction of infrastructure renewals accounting, estimated at privatisation to be the average required for maintaining the assets in long-term working order.

The SRF claimed that by March 1994 the difference between the cash received and cash spent on infrastructure renewals was more than £400 million for the 10 water companies.

In 1993/94 Ian Byatt, director general of the water regulator Ofwat, found an underspend by the companies of £25 million on water pipes and £66 million on sewers, a total of £91 million.

'Sex lessons promote early sex' claim is myth

Chris Mihill

YOUNG people who are given sex education at school start their sex lives later, take fewer partners and are more responsible about contraception, researchers said last week. Two studies, published in the latest issue of the British Medical Journal, explode the myth that sex education leads to early sexual experimentation — the evidence is that the opposite is true.

Although high quality sex education is expensive, the researchers say it saves money from the budgets of health, education and social services, quite apart from reducing the misery of unwanted pregnancies, abortions and sexually transmitted diseases.

Doctors and educationists from the department of child health at Exeter University, headed by Alex Mellanby and John Tripp, implemented a programme in local secondary schools aimed at decreasing sexual activity and increasing knowledge about sex.

Sex lessons provided by doctors, teachers and specially-trained 16-year-old school leavers were given to pupils at ages 13/14, and then again at 14/15. The pupils received up to 30 one-hour lessons. The programme was evaluated when the pupils were aged 16, and compared against groups of students who had not been through it.

The doctors say that pupils outside the 1994 programme were 45 per cent more likely to have had sexual intercourse than those on the course. Those on the programme were more knowledgeable about contraception, and less likely to hold wrong information.

The report points out that medical problems associated with teenage sexual activity are a major health burden — with nearly a third of women under 20 becoming pregnant, and some 40,000 abortions a year amongst teenagers.

Dr Tripp said the programme cost about £45 per pupil, or about £1,000 a class. The education authority in Exeter has now purchased the programme for more of its schools, and it has recently been sold to North Essex, so some 2,000 students will receive it next year, compared with 400 last year.

"Although it is expensive for school budgets it is very cheap compared to the cost to the health service and social services," said Dr Tripp. "There is an argument that the bill should be met by health authorities, not schools."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
August 20 1995

Tories claim to hit Blair's weak spot

Patrick Wintour

THE Labour party was accused last week of panic after a campaign visit to the West Midlands by the new Conservative chairman, Brian Mawhinney, designed to expose the "loony left in local government", led Labour to announce that it had suspended the Walsall district party.

Conservative officials claimed that Dr Mawhinney's visit had scored a direct hit and that their strategists had finally found Tony Blair's Achilles heel in Labour's local government record.

The suspension, one of many recent disciplinary measures against Labour local parties, had been agreed in principle last month by the Labour national executive after persistent complaints of intimidation and misconduct.

Labour officials have also been concerned at the lack of consultation within the party and the local electorate over radical plans by the Labour group leader to decentralise services to 54 neighbourhood offices. But in a tactical judgment which has since been questioned, the decision to announce suspension does not appear to have been taken until a meeting of the party's national campaigns committee on Monday last week.

The suspension was designed to defuse the impact of Dr Mawhinney's visit to the West Midlands the following day, as well as to demonstrate that Mr Blair's leadership would not tolerate any malpractice at local level damaging the party's national popularity.

However, critics inside the Labour Party admitted that the tactic may have backfired and only served to bring publicity to Dr Mawhinney's visit.

Mr Blair has been beset by reports of malpractice in Lambeth, Birmingham, Hackney, Monklands and Tyneside. Walsall borough council, brought under Labour control in May, has already made nine council department chiefs redundant in preparation for its decentralisation programme, a long-term aim of Walsall Labour radicals for more than 10 years.

Labour's local government officers met leaders of Walsall's leadership last month to warn them that Labour was not happy about the use of the district party to direct group policy. Concern was also expressed about the policy of decentralisation.

Dr Mawhinney reacted to the suspension by saying: "It seems it takes the visit of the chairman of the Conservative party to a Labour council to force the party to act to deal with the failure of Labour in local government."

Labour councillors in Walsall angrily demanded that the party leadership lift the "ill-judged" suspension of the district party, accusing the leadership of a gaffe and of jeopardising the council's radical decentralisation programme.

The acting council leader, John Rothery, criticised the Tory-inspired "hysteria" over his council's policies and accused Labour headquarters of caving in to the Tory propaganda machine. He demanded the suspension be lifted.

The Labour leadership, however, denied it had been panicked into the suspension by Dr Mawhinney's visit to the West Midlands. Although the suspension was announced the same day, Labour said it had three times warned the Walsall leadership that it was breaching party rules by giving so much power to the district party and failing to consult local people.

Police hail DNA tracing breakthrough

Duncan Campbell

THE first suspected criminal to be traced through the new national DNA database has been identified. Police last week hailed the identification as a sign of an important breakthrough in detection techniques and the forerunner of many similar traces.

The suspect is a suspected burglar in Derbyshire. He had been arrested on an unrelated offence and a DNA sample taken from him. This has now been matched with a sample left at a burglary.

It is the first "match" since the national database, the only one of its kind in the world, was set up four months ago. The database holds details of "genetic fingerprints" of criminals.

Don Dovaston, assistant chief constable of Derbyshire, a force that has been at the forefront of DNA tracing, said: "It is a major breakthrough." He said he believed it was only a matter of time before the database produced such matches daily.

The world's first national computerised DNA database went into operation on April 10 this year and was greeted by senior police officers as the most significant advance in crime detection since the introduction of fingerprinting.

The database was set up after the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act authorised the police to take non-intimate body samples, such as a swab of saliva from the mouth or a head hair, in all non-recordable offences. These could be matched through the DNA process with traces of blood, semen or saliva left at the scene of a crime.

The profile will be retained only in a searchable form if the suspect is convicted or cautioned for a recordable offence or if action against the person is continuing.

Liberty, the civil rights organisation, has cautioned against seeing DNA as an infallible system of identification. There is a debate within the scientific community as to the odds against an innocent person being wrongly traced.

● Police investigating a rape in London have written to more than 100 men who resemble the attackers, asking them to give blood samples so that they can be eliminated from the inquiry. Each suspect will be paid £10 expenses for attending.

Adams steps up pressure for talks

David Sharrock

THE Government on Sunday came under renewed pressure to call all-party talks in Northern Ireland from the Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, and the leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, John Hume.

There were minor skirmishes during a republican parade in Belfast when loyalist counter-demonstrators broke through police lines.

Later, Mr Adams addressed a crowd outside Belfast City Hall, warning that the peace process was in danger of unravelling. "I would love to be here today to tell you all that we now have peace," Mr Adams said at the parade, which marked the 24th anniversary of internment. "But you know and I know that we don't have peace. The British government's policies, its refusal to engage in this process, its refusal to deal with the prisoners on an even-handed basis and its commitment to bolstering Unionist inflexibility is strangling this opportunity for peace."

He derided suggestions that the IRA would disarm. "There is no and there was no expectation within the British establishment and within Unionism that the IRA would disarm."

Mr Hume, speaking on Irish radio, urged the Government to set a date for all-party talks next month and said he hoped John Major had not adopt the "utterly irresponsible" position of settling just for the absence of paramilitary violence.

Sporadic violence followed clashes at the weekend in Belfast and Londonderry, when riot police forcibly removed demonstrators opposed to parades by the Protestant Apprentice Boys, commemorating the 306th anniversary of the siege of Derry. Nobody was injured and the parade passed off quietly, but there were minor disturbances later.

The police handling of the parades is likely to be raised at the next meeting of London and Dublin ministers. RUC deputy chief constable Ronnie Flanagan said the violence had been orchestrated. "Some of those injured and others recognised at the scene were not local."

● The first punishment shooting in nearly a year last week prompted claims that the IRA has embarked on a resumption of its campaign of violence.

Simon Murray, aged 21, described from a hospital bed how he was kidnapped, beaten and shot in both elbows by a gang suspected to be from the IRA. A year ago he was beaten by a paramilitary "punishment squad", also believed to have been from the IRA.

Since the ceasefires, loyalists and republicans are thought to have carried out 170 beatings. The Ulster Unionist MP, Ken Maginnis, said the shooting proved that the IRA was continuing with its rolling resumption of violence, which he forecast in June. "This was as much a signal to the Government as a punishment attack."

Families Against Intimidation and Terror, which campaigns against paramilitary violence, called on the IRA to say whether it was involved.

"The violence has escalated, the beatings are horrific since the ceasefire. Now are we back into a situation where they are going to shoot them?" asked Nancy Gracey.

Euro Court rules against ill women

Clare Dyer

TENS of thousands of disabled or ill women pensioners had their hopes of higher invalidity benefit dashed last week when the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg held that rules linking the benefit to state pension ages did not breach European law.

In a judgment affecting at least 41,000 women, it held that rules cutting invalidity benefit for retired machinist Rose Graham at age 60 did not breach a European directive on equal treatment for men and women in social security matters.

Mrs Graham, from Birkenhead, Merseyside, had argued that allowing men full benefit until age 65, but women only until age 60, was unlawful. The ruling, which will save the Government an estimated £600 million, was unexpected because the Advocate-General, a court adviser whose opinion is usually followed, had supported Mrs Graham's arguments.

Mrs Graham lost £35 a week from age 60 when, under the rules, her benefit was cut to the level of the state pension she had earned by her contributions. Her contribution record as a self-employed worker was inadequate for a full pension.

She appealed and in 1992 the full benefit was restored to her, backdated to age 60, after a social security commissioner decided the rule breached the directive. But the Government took the case to the Court of Appeal, which referred it to Luxembourg.

The Luxembourg court held that the Government was entitled to apply different ages for men and women because equalising them would "undermine the coherence between the retirement pension scheme and the invalidity benefit scheme".

Diana Brittan, the Equal Opportunities Commission's deputy chairwoman, said the decision was bad news for many women "who, unlike men, will not be able to receive full invalidity benefit for an extra five years. Discrimination at any age is unfair; discrimination in older age when incomes are often lower is a greater injustice. The state pension ages should not be used to create more sex discrimination in the social security system."

Up, up and away . . . Some of the 150 hot air balloons that rose above the West Country last Friday at the start of the three-day Bristol International Balloon Fiesta

PHOTOGRAPH: GARRY WEASER

Bottomley looks to digital revolution

Lisa Buckingham

AT LEAST 18 new television channels could come on air as a result of a switch to digital broadcasting which will be as "significant as the move from black and white TV to colour", Virginia Bottomley, the Heritage Secretary, said last week.

Mrs Bottomley, who was launching a White Paper on digital broadcasting, said that as well as the TV channels, more than 40 radio stations could be created.

Raising the curtain on what she described as a revolution, Mrs Bottomley said digital broadcasting would transform people's viewing and could create thousands of jobs by keeping Britain at the forefront of broadcast developments.

Digital television and radio involves converting sound and pictures into computer language which can be transmitted in compressed form. Signals are received and decoded by a set-top black box.

It is estimated that decoder boxes could cost £300 to £500 each and wide-screen TV sets, including a universal decoder, £1,500.

The consultative paper from the Heritage Department offers safeguards for existing broadcasters, including the BBC, Channel 4 and the ITV companies, which will be guaranteed access to digital frequencies. But if they want to expand beyond their existing channels they will have to bid competitively for extra capacity — a process which could cost the BBC, for example, £100 million to £150 million a year.

The satellite operator, BSkyB — which is 40 per cent owned by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation — predicted that terrestrial digital broadcasters faced problems introducing decoder boxes into most homes at an affordable price. But BSkyB claims it will be able to offer its own digital transmissions from next year.

Labour attacks farm payouts

LABOUR last week called for the abolition of European Union payments to farmers for not growing crops after allegations that several ministers were given handouts under the system, *writes Lawrence Donegan*.

Gavin Strang, shadow agriculture minister, described reports that the ministers had received more than £100,000 in set-aside payments — introduced by Brussels to reduce food mountains — as a scandal. Under the scheme, farmers receive arable payments if they agree not to grow food on a percentage of their land.

Mr Strang accused the Government of putting the interests of farmers above those of taxpayers. "Why should the taxpayer be paying out such colossal sums to large farmers?" he asked.

Six ministers who own large farms are reported to be benefiting from the scheme, including Lord Inglewood, junior national heritage minister, who is set to receive £130,000 this year and Earl Ferrers, environment minister, who will get £140,000.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Agriculture said set-aside had worked as a measure to reduce surpluses: "The food mountains are now almost like molehills." It was a temporary measure which the Government wanted to see phased out.

In Brief

THE RAF will have to pay £2.2 billion more for its Eurofighter force than projected 10 years ago, according to figures obtained by the shadow defence secretary, David Clark. Germany's threat to withdraw from the four-nation project has failed to halt rising costs.

THE LAW Society is to re-examine its publicity code after disclosures that solicitors are buying names of accident victims for £1 each from a marketing company in an effort to increase their personal injury work.

ELECTRONIC monitoring or tagging of offenders could be used for ex-prisoners on parole, the Home Office said. It was no longer a question of whether tagging should be used but how.

THE Conservative party said it was reviving its media monitoring unit to expose bias in TV programmes and leftwing prejudice at the BBC and ITV.

YACHTSWOMAN Lisa Clayton handed in thousands of written logs detailing weather reports and repairs. She hopes they will clinch her claim to become the first woman to sail single-handed and unassisted around the world.

EIGHTEEN senior NHS officials who received illegal compensation because they lost money on the sale of their homes when they transferred jobs may have to repay £579,000 and face disciplinary action.

LAST summer saw the highest number of anti-Semitic incidents — including the desecration of seven cemeteries — since records began in 1982, according to the annual report of the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

PROFESSOR Angus Wallace, of Nottingham University Medical School, awarded £30,000 after performing mid-air surgery to save a woman's life, said he would pass on the money for research at the school.

THE TREASURY is pressing for cuts of up to £200 million in next year's £1.8 billion roads programme, according to a confidential document drawn up for the Transport Secretary, Sir George Young. The proposed cuts could mean the number of new roads will be reduced from eight to just two major schemes.

NORPLANT, a contraceptive implant which has left some women with scarred arms needing plastic surgery after extraction attempts, has highlighted a gap in Britain's drug licensing laws. Hoechst Roussel, which markets the drug, warns gynaecologists not to attempt to extract the implant without training but has no power to insist that only Norplant-trained doctors insert or remove it.



On parade . . . Trooper Mark Campbell is the first black soldier to join the sovereign's escort of the Household Cavalry. The 28-year-old former postal worker will make his first public appearance during the VJ Day celebrations this weekend. His success follows years of pressure — spearheaded by the Prince of Wales — to recruit black troopers to both the Household Cavalry and the five guards regiments

Church denies gay man has right to be godfather

Owen Bowcott

THE case of a gay man denied permission to become godfather to his nephew has reopened deep divisions within the Church of England over its attitudes to homosexuality.

With Anglican clergy split on the issue, the Church admitted that, although it was general policy to accept gay men in permanent relationships, individual parishes could effectively enforce a ban.

Single, heterosexual men who "slept around" might also be rejected as godfathers, a Church of England official suggested, attempting to prove that homosexuals were not subjected to discrimination.

The latest conflict began this spring at St Peter's Church, Farnborough, in Hampshire. Simon Lawley, a 39-year-old restaurateur, was asked by his sister, Elizabeth Toms, to become godfather to her son. In conversation with the local curate, she volunteered the information that he was gay.

Both the curate, the Reverend Beryl Phillips, and her canon, the Reverend Alan Boddington, then ruled that they could not baptise her son at St Peter's with a gay godfather.

"This is a serious issue as the practice of homosexuality, as opposed to homosexual orientation, is not condoned in scripture." The refusal was based on biblical teaching.

Canon Boddington accepted that a statement from the House of Bishops in 1991 had welcomed gay couples in permanent relationships into the Anglican Church. But he denied the document was "definitive".

A Church of England press officer said a godparent should be someone who can "give an example of godly living to the child" and help the child grow up in the faith of Christ and the Church.

The House of Bishops has ruled that the Church should welcome homosexuals involved in permanent relationships. The simple issue of sexuality should not be relevant to whether someone can become a godparent. It really depends on the person's lifestyle." There were differences in the way the regulations were implemented, he said. "A vicar has no right to deny baptism, but he has some say in who the godparents might be."

Mr Lawley, who has written to the Archbishop of Canterbury, demanding that they clarify the Church's stance, has since become the child's godfather at a service in Lincolnshire.

He told the Sunday Times newspaper: "To have this blanket of bigotry and homophobia thrown over me was incredible. It was worse than anything I'd experienced outside the Church."

Firms object to maternity bill

Chris Barrie

EMPLOYERS united on Monday to condemn government plans to make businesses responsible for statutory maternity pay, warning that the move would lead to discrimination against women and higher labour costs.

Richard Brown, deputy director-general of the British Chambers of Commerce, said the plans to lop £500 million off public spending by transferring the burden to employers would provide another reason for firms to avoid employing women. He added: "It would be yet another instance of a law acting against providing opportunities for women."

The Confederation of British Industry and the Institute of Directors also rejected the scheme.

Peter Lilley, the Social Security Secretary, is reported to be considering the move as part of a plan to cut spending.

The bill for maternity pay has ballooned in the last five years because of improvements required under European law. Women working full time are now eligible for full maternity pay without having to be employed for two years.

The British Chamber of Commerce suggested that the Government could cap an employer's contribution by laying down that no company should pay more than a pre-set proportion of its payroll in maternity pay. That way firms facing a potentially high bill — such as supermarkets where 5 per cent of the workforce could be away at any one time — would be protected.

Expert raises rail safety fears

Rebecca Smithers

RAILTRACK made a robust defence of its safety procedures this week after the publication of a leaked internal memorandum in which one of its own managers warned of "another Clapham" rail disaster unless its standards were improved.

The contents of the memo, which lists a number of unpublicised near-misses this year — including two in the South-east and others in Scotland — have confirmed fears about the implications of breaking up the railway industry for privatisation, and fuelled demands for the sell-off to be halted.

The first leaked Railtrack memo was written by Jack Rose, manager of safety assessment at Railtrack's Major Projects Division, for its director Gil Howarth.

His bluntly written conclusions are given extra weight by the fact that he was in charge of the safety review of the London Underground after the King's Cross fire eight years ago.

Mr Rose warned Mr Howarth that Railtrack's safety procedures were so lax that "another Clapham" had twice been narrowly avoided.

Thirty-five people were killed when two trains collided outside Clapham Junction station in south-west London in December 1988.

"We cannot afford to be 'third time unlucky'," he admits about the incidents, which both took place in the Bow area of east London in March and June. "In either incident, if the train body had been of the older, wooden based construction, the events could have led to the ripping away of the side of the train with disastrous consequences," he says.

Mr Rose admits that it would take Railtrack 18 months to set up an effective safety management system, and urges it to take advice from safety experts from an organisation such as the UK Atomic Authority.

Among his other concerns are that Railtrack did not appear to know or understand how safe its staff were, and that the division had no way of assessing safety risk. Mr Howarth said the memo was written on June 22, a review of safety had since been undertaken and Railtrack was totally satisfied with procedures.

"Trends over the last three years show that safety has improved on the railways," he said. "We are constantly improving and updating safety."

The main rail union, the RMT, said the document confirmed its "worst fears" and it would write to the Government demanding a review of safety procedures. Labour accused the Government of placing passengers at risk by putting privatisation before safety, and claimed a key plank of the sell-off programme had been "thrown into complete disarray".

"It will be at least 18 months before Railtrack will 'effectively manage' safety but the company is due to be sold in only six months," said Labour's transport spokesman, Henry McLeish. "We cannot allow the Government to play political games with Railtrack."

But the Health and Safety Executive (HSE) said it had "no evidence of any deterioration in Railtrack's overall safety standards". A Department of Transport spokesman added: "Railtrack has . . . assured ministers that safety is paramount on the railway and that effective safety arrangements are fully in place. The railway safety regime was independently designed to be safe by the HSE, it has been independently approved as being safe and is regularly monitored to ensure that it continues to be safe."

Kashmir cries out for attention

THE PLIGHT of the hostages in Kashmir is agonising, yet it is based on a logic which cannot be ignored. Kashmir is now the most intractable of all international problems and the one which foreign governments are most anxious to avoid. So what does it require, the Al-Faran militants will have asked, to compel international opinion to sit up and take notice? Even the deadline for their last ultimatum passed with barely a mention in the foreign press. The answer was the body of a captive who had been decapitated. Guerrillas who have fought in Afghanistan know how to make a point.

India has been accused of being "a country without a strategy" in Kashmir. Perhaps so, but who else claims to possess one? Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's plan to hold elections was regarded even in New Delhi as irrelevant before it was derailed by the destruction of the Charar-e-Sharief shrine. Yet the charge may be levelled equally at Pakistan, whose aid to the insurgents only weakens their credibility while compelling India to tighten its grip. The root of the Kashmir crisis lies in this dual nature — as an internal question between Kashmir and the Indian government and as a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan, which has already led to two wars. Labour's shadow foreign secretary tried to say this recently, by referring both to Kashmir as under India's control and to the 1972 Simla agreement where the two countries agreed to negotiate on a bilateral basis. His wording may have been inept but any pronouncement on Kashmir is likely to be clobbered.

No solution to the Kashmir crisis is possible unless Pakistan agrees to stop supplying weapons and fighters, yet no independent observer believes that this would bring an end. Most of the population has been alienated to the point of despair by the repression from which thousands suffer and die. The outside world has not helped either. The US and Europeans have toned down complaints about human right abuses in Kashmir and shelved it as a diplomatic issue. The end of the cold war reduced their concern: the opening of the Indian market became more enticing.

Yet a new argument, also stemming from the end of the cold war, points in a more hopeful direction. This would group Kashmir with the other "insoluble" problems of the late 20th century which may — just may — prove capable after all of solution. However tentative the progress now being made by Israel and the PLO (or closer to home in Northern Ireland), it demonstrates that there need be no no-go areas. Eliminating the chief source of tension between the two main powers of the subcontinent would liberate huge resources diverted for too long into competitive military expenditure.

This is delicate terrain where everyone should tread carefully but a beginning has to be made. Today's hostage crisis is also a metaphor for the wider crisis in which the people of Kashmir are themselves hostages to past decades of indifference and intolerance. That is the trap which somehow has to be sprung.

Unequal opportunities

SOCIAL Focus on Women published by the Central Statistical Office is a cornucopia of information on one of the most absorbing and persistent debates of the late 20th century: the role of women. The past 30 years have witnessed huge changes in women's lives. We ceaselessly analyse and reflect on the impact these changes are having on the relationship between the sexes and on the bearing and raising of children. Now Britain has a reference work which highlights how the pace of change has outstripped the structures which order work, family life and childcare. The result? Ask any working mother: she's knackered.

The overarching theme of this document is the continuing advance of women in the workplace: the proportion of women who work has risen from 44 per cent in 1971 to 53 per cent in 1994. It is set to rise further. But this is not a genuine advance for women unless they get a fair deal in the workplace; they do not. They tend to work in low-status, low-paid jobs; they earn less than men on average, and even earn less for the same work. Women are still under-represented in the ranks of power, policy and decision-making, the authors conclude.

How can this have happened after nearly two decades of Equal Opportunities? There are three facts in Social Focus which policy-makers and employers would do well on which to ponder.

First, most women have children. Second, the vast majority of mothers want to work part-time (a staggering 92 per cent): their career development is prejudiced by a work culture where only the hours put in at your desk is seen as evidence of commitment. Women who take career breaks for children never catch up with their male counterparts. Third, the tiny number who have been able to arrange flexible working patterns is testimony to the workplace's rigidity.

These kind of flexible work arrangements are crucial if women are to continue to do what they have always wanted to do: invest hugely in human relationships. They should not be penalised for making the well-being of their children and consideration for their relationships with partners, friends and extended families a priority.

Working part-time should not be a reason to be relegated to the slow lane or to be exploited as cheap and docile. Ending discrimination in the workplace is not only a question of rights. It is about mobilising skills in which women are particularly adept, such as human relations and communication: it is a matter of sound economic sense. It is also about the well-being of society. The double burden of competing at work while maintaining women's traditional priority of human relationships is punishing.

Two further facts from Social Focus. The depressing one is that a fifth of women aged 16-64 had suffered some form of neurotic disorder in the week before they were interviewed. The four most common symptoms were fatigue, sleep problems, irritability and worry. The double burden takes its toll. The hopeful one, however, is that men now share the weekly shopping and are doing more of the washing-up. Will changes in men's role in the home help the revolution needed in the workplace?

Bubbles in the Cyber Sea

EVERYONE has heard of the South Sea Bubble even if few can remember exactly what it was all about. The South Sea company was founded in 1711 with the object of trading with South America (mainly in slaves). In exchange for taking over the government's floating debts (£9.5 million then) it was given a monopoly of trade to the South Seas. In practice this turned out to be only one ship a year, but that didn't prevent an orgy of speculation developing not only in the South Sea company but in dozens of other dodgy ventures, including one "for carrying out an undertaking of great advantage, but no one to know what it is". Shares of the South Sea company rose from 128.5 in January 1720, to 330 in March, 550 in May and 890 in June. It broke through 1,000 in July and August, but had slumped back to 124 by December.

Turn now to the flotation of the shares of the US group, Netscape. The company's main product is software in the form of a small computer disk which it gives away. The software provides easy access to the Internet, the world-wide network of computers, so punters can "browse" through the electronic delights on offer. They had originally planned to price the corporation's shares at around $14 a share, but decided instead to pitch them at $28, only to find that they surged to $71 per share almost immediately. Since there are 38.1 million shares in existence, it valued the corporation at over $2.7 billion. Not bad for a company which made a loss of $4.3 million in the first half of the year. Of course, punters are piling into Netscape because of a belief that it could become as successful as Microsoft. Yet Microsoft's much vaunted Windows 95 operating system will contain Microsoft's own Internet "browser", which will be in competition with Netscape's.

It is common to value a company's shares on the stock market as a multiple of its post-tax profits. If a company is purchased for 10 times its earnings it would take 10 years to recoup the outlay. With Netscape it would take infinity since it is not making profits. Whether the company's future Internet-based products will eventually justify its high value remains to be seen. Its price has fallen already since its heady debut. Meanwhile, Netscape may become a metaphor for the times, measuring the triumph of expectation over reality.

Krajina victory opens the floodgates of war

Martin Woollacott

CROATS have a favourite story about the reconquest of Krajina. It tells how, when their forces entered the town of Obrovac a fortnight ago, they found just one 65-year-old man out of a population of 6,000. He was a Croat, married to a Serb. She had gone off with the other Serbs.

The story dramatises three things Croats believe in — the completeness of their victory in the Krajina, the wilful nature of the Serb's evacuation, and, in the metaphor of the abandoned marriage, the impossibility of living together again. Some tell the story in sadness, some in jubilation.

Either way, it does embody the key aspects of the new situation. The Serbs, from having seemed to be the strongest actors, have become the likely losers in the conflict. They are dragging back into a reduced redoubt the far-flung Serb population they allegedly set out to defend four years ago. Croatia is looking for more victories and, perhaps, for more displacements of Serb population which, as in the Krajina, it can trust the Serbs to organise themselves. Their instinct to push Slobodan Milosevic to the wall is the right one, for them and for us. Their complicity in an ethnic upheaval partly set off by their enemies, on the other hand, does violence to their own complex history, and distorts and to an extent degrades their national struggle.

The best way to characterise the radical change that has taken place in recent weeks is to say that the fall of Milosevic is now a clear, if still distant, possibility. That of both Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic can easily be envisaged. If any of them survive, it will be as shrunken and vulnerable figures. They face the prospect of further defeats in war or, at best, of negotiations not on their terms, and of settlements that would be so unpopular with their people as to bring them down.

And their past is catching up with them, as the Srebrenica allegations against the Bosnian Serb army and Mladic show. If these are proved to be true, they could undermine the Serb's position as effectively as the military defeat they have just suffered. The combination of the two is potentially lethal, in that the international community will be flooded with outrage at just the moment when it has become obvious that the Serbs are less formidable than was thought. Negotiating with men involved in such a crime could, quite rightly, become impossible.

Far from opening up the possibilities of a negotiated settlement with the Serb regimes, the Krajina victory has in fact done the reverse. It makes active warfare in Bosnia much more likely, as the Croats and Muslims press their advantage and Mladic tries to foil them and rescue his reputation. Why should Franjo Tudjman follow up his victory by entering into talks that, by implication, would carry the possibility of him making concessions? Milosevic, meanwhile, would find it politically dangerous to enter into negotiations with a triumphant Croatia, even if the latter were ready to offer them. Serbia and Croatia may agree on one thing — that now is not the moment to have a battle for Eastern Slavonia, the remaining Serb-held territory in Croatia — but they agree on nothing else. A fight in Bosnia to force further Serb retreat is therefore on the cards.

The Russian diplomatic intervention and the US mission to Europe, led by Anthony Lake, are both pieces of theatre tending to conceal the fact that everything that has happened points to war and not to a settlement. The larger truth is that American policy in the Balkans has prevailed over the policy of Britain and France. The latter was based on the idea that the strength of Serbia and its proxies in Bosnia and Croatia had to be respected and that a settlement must be based on consolidating Milosevic. In spite of his responsibility for the horrors of ethnic warfare, he was to be the keystone of the arch of peace.

The Americans, by contrast, helped create the Croatian-Bosnian alliance with German help and presided over, if they did not materially assist, a gradual improvement in the military capacity of Croats and Bosnians. The secondary issue of the arms embargo bedevilled European and US relations, but the real difference was that the Americans saw a solution in the Croats, and the British and French saw it in the Serbs. US policy was not particularly coherent or forceful, and Washington may now be surprised by its own success, but the results on the battlefield have transformed the military and diplomatic landscape.

THE diplomatic concepts of the past are going to be discarded, in fact if not in name. The division of territory, 49 per cent for the Serbs and 51 per cent for the federation, devised long ago by the five-nation Contact Group, along with an actual map of proposed partition, was already obsolete. Now it is likely to be overtaken by fighting on the ground as the Croats and Muslims move to take more territory in western and central Bosnia.

The idea that Serbia's recognition of Bosnia, still being pursued by the chief negotiator, Carl Bildt, is an important step to a settlement falls in consequence. We do not need Milosevic to rein in the Bosnian Serbs: they can be reined in by other means. Equally, the idea that the way to solve the problem of Eastern Slavonia is by an internationally endorsed autonomy plan becomes very doubtful. It remains desirable, but the reality is that neither Tudjman nor Milosevic could now afford the concessions that each would have to make. The likely consequence is that Eastern Slavonia will be settled by force some time in the future.

All these diplomatic instruments were responses to what was perceived as the enduring reality of Serb power. While it would be foolish to underestimate Serb military resources and resolve, and wrong to cease to search for a moment when a stable settlement is possible, an effective diplomacy must now be shaped around Serb weakness. A settlement may well follow, or could precipitate, the fall of the Serb regimes.

It was assumed that the Serbs could not be defeated and therefore must be accommodated. Now we know this is not true the road to victory, not over the Serbian people, but over their foolish and dangerous masters, is at last open.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
August 20 1995

Ready to fight to the last drop

Next century's wars will be fought over water, warns the World Bank. **John Vidal** reports

THE WORLD BANK has seen the future, and it's very, very dry. This month, as the US counted the rising death toll of a searing summer, as Spanish regions clashed over what to do in a few weeks' time when their drinking water may run out after a two-year drought, and as tinder-dry Britain found it was leaking a third of its supplies, the world's most cautious economists helpfully chimed in. "Earth faces H_2O crisis," the Bank yelled.

"The wars of the next century will be over water" — not oil or politics — says Ismail Serageldin, the Bank's vice-president, echoing UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's 1988 assertion that the next war in the Middle East would be over the Nile. Within hours, Israeli and Palestine diplomats had reached more deadlock on water in their peace talks.

Unlike Boutros-Ghali, Serageldin wields facts: 80 countries, he says, now have shortages that threaten health and economies; 40 per cent of the world (more than 2 billion people) has no access to clean water or sanitation. And as industrial, agricultural and individual demands everywhere escalate *(see diagram)*, the situation is deteriorating.

Serageldin's analysis is devastating but his conclusions will be hotly debated. When set alongside new statistics from the FAO (the UN's Food and Agricultural organisation) and a rain of recent independent scientific and acedemic hydro-political studies, the size of the global water bomb emerges.

Worldwide demand for water is doubling every 21 years, more in some regions. Supply can't keep pace with demand growth as populations soar and cities explode, the Bank says. Cape Verde and Barbados are running out now. The situation in the Middle East and North Africa is "precarious". Northern China, western and southern India, parts of Pakistan, South America and much of Mexico all face water scarcity.

Much of sub-Saharan Africa is in semi-permanent crisis. Fifty Chinese cities face acute shortages as the water table drops one or two metres a year. Meanwhile, many countries are accelerating the process of desertification and water quality is falling rapidly in the developing world as pollution and salinity, caused by industrial farming and over-extraction, rises.

"With water there is survival, without it there is no food nor sustenance of any sort," says Dr Norman Myers, a fellow of Green College, Oxford, and consultant to the Bank. His recent book, Ultimate Security, is harrowing. It says Egypt's water supply per person is expected to shrink by 30 per cent, Nigeria's by 40 per cent, Kenya's by 50 per cent in under a decade. By 2025, Serageldin adds, the amount of water available to each person in the Middle East and North Africa will have dropped by 80 per cent in a single lifetime.

Myers identifies an ecological "risk spiral". As population grows (it's expected to double worldwide in 40 years), so drier areas are being farmed. This justifies the loss of forests and other water-conserving vegetation but the result is less rainfall and a "dessicatory effect" — multiple factors are compounding each other's impacts.

Parts of Africa could shortly experience a "drying out", and as demand soars, so supplies may decline faster than ever. Result everywhere: communities less able to feed themselves, political tension and an escalation towards conflict. "It's no longer an economic struggle, but a fight for survival," said one regional politician grappling with the Spanish water crisis.

Peter Gleick, of the Pacific Institute for Studies in Development, Environment and Security in California, agrees with Serageldin. He sees water becoming increasingly important in inter-state politics and the "probability" of violent conflict over Earth's fundamental resource. Water, he says, is fast evolving into an issue of high geopolitical strategy: "It's dynamite."

Because water is no respecter of national boundaries, the potential for insecurity is great. Botswana, Bulgaria, Cambodia, the Congo, Gambia, the Sudan, Syria and many other countries receive 75 per cent or more of their fresh water from the river flows of (often hostile) upstream neighbours. Some 40 per cent of the world, Gleick says, lives in the 250 river basins whose water is competed for by more than one nation. Great rivers like the Nile, Niger, Tigris, Mekong, Brahmaputra and Indus flow though many countries, all of whom want to extract as much water as possible. All have been the subject of recent international disputes. Tensions appear "especially likely" in parts of southern and central Asia and the Middle East, where water conflicts go back more than 5,000 years.

The problem, the FAO says, is not "climatic drought". Rainfall stays roughly the same, even if the last decade has seen eight of the hottest years on record. Rainfall varies widely from year to year but good and bad years tend to be grouped. Today's problem is self-induced. What we are seeing, the FAO says, is mostly "agricultural drought" — where water supply is insufficient to cover crop or livestock needs.

It comes in two forms. Growing populations need more food, which demands more water to grow it. But less remarked (and ignored in the Bank's analysis) is the fact that new, high-yielding crop varieties — subsidised and pushed vigorously by governments, industry and world bodies as the most efficient way to feed people — demand much more water.

Moreover, agricultural drought is being worsened as tensions grow everywhere between the three sectors of society that traditionally compete for water — farming, industry and individuals. The FAO and the Bank agree that, as wealth increases, agriculture is being denied water by emerging industrial and urban areas.

"Where's the food going to come from?" Gleick asks. "How can we possibly meet the needs of 10 billion people when we can barely meet the needs of 5 billion and are actually taking water away from agriculture?"

"Food production capacity is being lowered," Serageldin says. "Water scarcity, not shortage of land, will be the main future constraint of agriculture in developing countries."

The solutions are hotly debated. The Bank wants $600 billion to be invested in sanitation and water schemes in the next decade, and says it will up its lending in this area to about 25 per cent of its loans. It makes economic sense: the price of not investing in health and sanitation is huge. Ten weeks of cholera caused by contaminated water in Peru recently cost about $1 billion — three times the amount invested in the country's water supply in the whole of the 1980s.

Because it could not afford to clean up the pollution of its water supplies, Shanghai spent $300 million recently moving its intake 25 miles upstream. Here British water companies say it will cost $60 billion to meet EU water quality standards — the price of not investing in pollution prevention earlier.

"It's good to see the Bank taking water seriously," says Mark Robinson of WaterAid, the British charity which claims that 80 per cent of all deaths in the developing world are now water-related and warns that cities in the developing world are becoming mega-slums increasingly prone to disease. "The implications for the IMF and the world community are great. Scares like the recent Indian plague outbreak will be repeated month after month unless we get to grips with water.

"But money is not enough — the approach is vital. Time and again the poorest are bypassed by inappropriate water and sanitation investments. The developing world is littered with failed water projects. Soon the majority will be living in little more than urban slums. Without safe water there can be no good health and without health you can't fight poverty. Everything starts with water."

HE IS supported by a Malaysian development academic who asks not to be named. "Unless the World Bank and governments really attack the roots of the crisis, start thinking in the long-term and work from the bottom-up, the problem will not be solved," he says.

He warns of another risk spiral: "The core thinking of the Bank and others is to push western efficiency, technology and modernisation — most of which have ignored social costs. Yet the poor have ended up poorer in cities, where they need more water than before and the pollution of water is greatest.

"Without clean water and good sanitation, urban poverty, slums and diseases have flourished and countries have slipped even further into the poverty trap. But countries are still told by the World Bank and western-trained economists to develop, at the expense of their traditional water-sparse agriculture, foreign exchange-earning crops like flowers or lettuces — which need even more water." It's all underpinned by global free trade and the Gatt — pushed by the Bank, he says. "Now everyone says 'develop tourism', which, per capita, is the most water-intensive of all industries!"

The figures are startling: according to the FAO, the average 15,000 cubic metres of water needed to irrigate one hectare of high-yielding modern rice is enough for 100 nomads and 450 cattle for three years, or 100 rural families for three years, or 100 urban families for two years. The same amount can supply 100 luxury hotel guests for just 55 days.

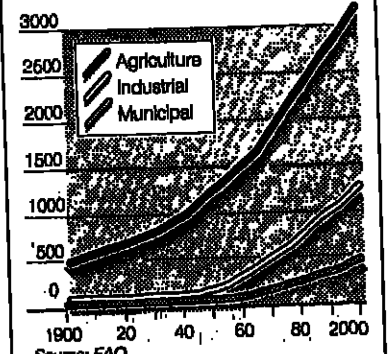
Meanwhile cities, Gleick says, can pay 10 times more for water as farmers; African safari hotels are paying to usurp wells that have traditionally watered whole tribes, and everywhere farming and industry is excused paying for the pollution it causes. In city after city in the developing world the poor must rely on private water vendors paying 10 times or more what those with government-provided tap water pay.

Most contentiously, the Bank wants to see water valued as an economic good. Ignoring all arguments about water being a human right, or cultural or religious factors that celebrate the sacredness of water, it says private enterprise and the privatisation of water supplies are the way to provide the most services at the lowest price for the poor. It will be as hotly debated as Britain's venture into privatising water.

"Privatisation misses the mark," WaterAid says. "The poor already pay very heavily for water. In effect it's privatised already but going down the route of private facilities may not be appropriate. There are other ways. Otherwise water has a funny way of ending up only in the rich man's bucket these days."

Supply and demand

World water use: (cubic kilometres p.a.)



Source: FAO



Splashing out . . . A Sri Lankan girl washes from a full bucket, but how long will this plentiful supply last? PHOTOGRAPH: MARK EDWARDS

The dry and the mighty

Rivers where the international tension flows . . .

NILE: Flows through 10 volatile countries; provides 97 per cent of Egypt's water. Water developments upstream in Sudan, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania or Zaire would add to existing tensions. Only Sudan and Egypt have signed a water-use treaty.

INDUS: Pakistan is greatly dependent on the river but two of its tributaries rise in India — which wants water for the Punjab grain basket.

BRAHMAPUTRA: Vast amounts of silt are flowing down the river following deforestation in Bangladesh and Nepal. An Isle of Wight-size island is building up in the Bay of Bengal and will shortly surface.

JORDAN: River basin shared by Jordan, Syria, Israel and Lebanon. Forty per cent of Israel's water originates in territories occupied after the 1967 war. Water use is currently part of the deadlocked peace talks.

TIGRIS/EUPHRATES: Turkey controls the headwaters of both rivers via 33 dams in the giant GAP project. Downstream countries like Syria and Iraq depend completely on the Euphrates. Syria has ambitious irrigation plans which would further hit Iraq.

MEKONG: Laos, Vietnam and Thailand are rapidly industrialising and disputing how to manage the river. Thailand wants dams built in Laos that would change agriculture patterns in other countries.

GANGES: 300 million Indian farmers depend on the river but deforestation in Himalayan foothills is said to be disrupting the flow.

Cash flows in as the ideas run out

Using funds to finance buy-backs is fashionable in business but it's bad for investment, argues **Roger Cowe**

BARCLAYS BANK upset investors last week when it spent £180 million. Not because this was the latest takeover folly, executive bonus scheme or grand expansion. The bank spent the money buying shares from its shareholders, and those shareholders were upset because the scale of the buy-back was too small.

But what is the capitalist world coming to when capitalists don't want capital, and shareholders want to trade in their shares for cash?

Buy-backs are the theme of the 1990s. This financial fashion has been imported from the US, where IBM, Philip Morris, PepsiCo and Merck have all spent billions reducing the number of shares in issue.

It is simply another ruse to boost share prices. But it is important because of what it says about the state of British business, and the ability of large companies to do more than satisfy shareholders' needs.

The message from companies buying back shares is that they cannot find projects to invest the money in — not just in Britain, but anywhere in the world, since most are international if not multinational; and not just this year, but for the foreseeable future. And why do they have so much cash? They are making too much profit.

If markets worked properly, this would not happen. Only shrinking companies would have too much cash. In other cases, efficient markets would ensure that companies could not consistently make more profits than were needed to sustain their businesses. Companies which refused to invest would find others entering their markets and pursuing those projects seen as profitable. And companies making super-profits would find competition eating away at their business, reducing returns to normal.

This has not happened because of the de facto cartelisation of business. There is no shortage of competition for Barclays in the banking market. UK banks also face international competition. But if excessive return targets are pursued throughout the industry, the result will be excess profits and underinvestment on an industry-wide basis. In the 1980s, there was an unspoken agreement among supermarkets not to compete too hard on price. As a result, prices crept up above what even Sainsbury, Tesco and the rest would now regard as reasonable.

In the end, economic theory won out. Super-profits attracted new entrants to the market — German discount operator Aldi and Danish group Netto launched supermarket chains. But there is no serious sign of that happening in most sectors. Economy-wide figures from the Bank of England's latest Quarterly Bulletin show profitability at a high which has been exceeded since the early 1970s only briefly in the late 1980s boom. Business investment, on the other hand, is lagging way behind the pattern of previous economic recoveries, although the number of industrialists reporting insufficient capacity is also at a 1988 level. The result of this combination is also clearly seen in Bank of England charts: companies have stacks of cash. And that is despite the level of dividend payments being at levels unprecedented before the 1990s.

Shareholders — the insurance companies and pension funds — take the view that if a company has more cash than it knows what to do with, they would rather have the cash themselves. That is hardly surprising given the ability of many companies, Barclays and Boots among them, to make appalling acquisitions or fritter away their funds on doomed ventures.

But institutions do not want to hang on to the cash. They want to invest it in other companies, usually in the same sector and certainly in the FTSE 100 group of leading companies. That would become problematic if buy-backs became more widespread, and insurance companies found themselves trying to invest in a group of companies that did not want to sell their shares.

One answer would be for the institutions to invest in other companies — smaller firms, private businesses, new ventures — prepared to accept less inflated returns. But, of course, big institutions prefer to invest in big companies, and if they start thinking about venture capital, the high returns they demand act as a deterrent. The stock market may not be worried about being locked into a spiral of ever-higher returns squeezing out investment, but it is a worrying trend, because it suggests Britain's already poor investment record cannot improve as a result of a systemic fault in Britain's financial markets rather than anything that individual companies or investors can change.

PUBLICLY quoted companies are locked into a system in which the stock market demands steadily rising earnings per share. Companies which reduce the number of their shares try to achieve this aim by dividing their existing earnings among fewer shares, instead of the traditional route of increasing their earnings. The more profitable a company, the more difficult it is to raise the level of returns. Hence companies' insistence that they must achieve 20 per cent returns on investments, even at a time of low inflation when such a figure would seem outrageously generous to most private investors.

In the past, much earnings growth has been achieved by shuffling assets. In the 1960s and 1970s, conglomeration ate up any spare cash, as companies used their money, as well as shares, to buy up others. This process found a home for the cash and satisfied the need for growth. In the 1970s, any excess cash was also eaten up by inflation, which is another way of saying that large profits were often merely accounting numbers.

Beginning in the mid-1970s and continuing for a decade or more, the fashion then switched slightly. The new conglomerates, with Hanson and BTR the outstanding examples, went about the business of breaking up their predecessors, such as Imperial Group and Thomas Tilling. In cases such as BAT Industries, the break-up was semi-voluntary, as a defence against just such a bid. By the end of the 1980s, however, it had become apparent that the supposed gains from this process were often just as illusory as inflation-boosted profits.

More seriously, the increases in earnings per share from this break-up, reshuffling process were mere accounting gains. They were the arithmetical result of buying companies with highly-priced shares, plus the benefits of being able to ignore huge takeover costs when computing post-takeover profits. Thus the stock market ratings of companies such as Hanson have never returned to their 1980s highs, and investors now frown on the kind of takeover deals which were commonplace 10 years ago.

With the opportunity to spend on takeovers constrained, companies now face the far more difficult task of improving their business by investing in organic, rather than acquired, growth. But that is much less exciting, much less visible, and much more long-term. And it requires real cash.

In a growing number of cases, the response instead is to improve results merely by chopping away the lowest return businesses, or by giving the cash back to shareholders — in the form of higher dividends, if not special share purchase schemes. It is an abdication of business responsibility, but it is a position from which escape seems impossible. Alternative uses of the funds, even if investment is ruled out, would be to hand out money to other stakeholders, which would cut the cash piles by reducing profits. Wages could be raised — wages and salaries as a share of gross domestic product are at a 30-year low, with Barclays's own stockbroking arm, BZW, commenting recently, "While the employment share (of GDP) has been falling, we have been seeing a corresponding rise in the share of national income going to companies through higher profits." Higher prices could be negotiated with suppliers, lower ones offered to customers.

But it is clear that no quoted company could conceivably adopt such a strategy, when increasing "shareholder value" is currently the only acceptable business objective.

In Brief

MICHAEL OVITZ, the super agent regarded as the most powerful man in Hollywood, is to become president of the Walt Disney empire, only weeks after he rejected a $250 million offer to head MCA-Universal. He will be No 2 to the Disney chairman, Michael Eisner.

COMPUTER software market leader Microsoft is reported to be in talks with Turner Broadcasting about a $2 billion stake in the US televison company.

THREE leading UK banks unveiled healthy half-yearly pre-tax profits: Barclays boasted a record £1.125 billion while Midland posted a figure of £527 million and Standard Chartered increased 35 per cent over the same period to £319 million.

THE FOOD, cosmetics and detergent giant, Unilever, has warned that sluggish consumer demand in Europe would hold back profit growth in the second half of the year, despite the hot weather which will boost its huge ice-cream business.

CORDIANT, the former Saatchi & Saatchi group which changed its name earlier this year after the departure of the founding brothers, has reported a loss of almost £30 million for the first half of the year.

EUROTUNNEL is expected to run out of money within the next two months after the disclosure that revenues this year have been much less than expected.

ABOUT 1,600 Lloyd's of London investors who sued their members' agents over millions of pounds of losses suffered in the insurance market have learned they may receive up to £125 million more in damages than they had expected.

SHARES of GKN, the defence engineering giant which last year snapped up Westland Helicopters, leapt 51p to 783p on news that the group had hoisted half-year pre-tax profits by two-thirds to a record £163 million.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling rates August 7	Sterling rates August 14
Australia	2.1595-2.1623	2.1249-2.1276
Austria	15.83-15.85	15.83-15.87
Belgium	46.28-46.34	46.40-46.50
Canada	2.1726-2.1748	2.1427-2.1457
Denmark	8.72-8.73	8.75-8.76
France	7.76-7.77	7.78-7.79
Germany	2.2511-2.2533	2.2575-2.2606
Hong Kong	12.40-12.41	12.17-12.18
Ireland	0.9749-0.9767	0.9748-0.9781
Italy	2,528-2,531	2,525-2,528
Japan	145.95-146.91	147.15-147.41
Netherlands	2.5212-2.5244	2.5278-2.5310
New Zealand	2.521-2.524	2.374-2.377
Norway	9.92-9.93	9.93-9.94
Portugal	233.54-233.85	234.14-234.78
Spain	191.59-192.84	192.94-193.25
Sweden	11.36-11.38	11.31-11.33
Switzerland	1.8625-1.8649	1.8778-1.8807
USA	1.6028-1.6038	1.5730-1.5740
ECU	1.2083-1.2100	1.2066-1.2082

FTSE 100 Share Index down 42.1 at 3441.4. FTSE 250 Index down 21 at 3848.7. Gold down $0.75 at $385.50.

Mururoa prepares for post-test era

Jacques Isnard in Papeete

THE POLICY of loftily dismissing queries about the future of Mururoa and Fangataufa is over, the French high commissioner in Polynesia, Paul Roncière, has said. After 30 years of guarding the "big secret" (in the Mangarevan dialect *moru* means "secret" or "fishing net" and *roa* means "big"), it is all going to be out in the open from now on.

And this is not merely because France has to give explanations about its round of nuclear tests in order to try to head off the international community's wrath. It is also because military activities that have seen between 2,000 and 3,000 people stationed on the atolls since 1966, are due to be wound down. The time has finally come to convert the atolls — probably Mururoa more than Fangataufa, which is less hospitable — to other uses.

When the Polynesian territorial assembly ceded all rights to the two atolls in 1964, it was agreed that France would return them — without payment — to the territory once the nuclear test programme had ended. Most of the local representatives are planning to hold France to its commitment.

But the question is, what are they going to do with the atolls where military activity over the years has created artificial wealth? The $436 million that the French army and the Atomic Energy Authority spend there amounts roughly to one-eighth of Polynesia's GDP and a third of France's annual expenditure in the whole of the territory.

So what is to be done? In the first place, it would be out of the question to remove the specialists who keep track of the residual radioactivity. A report on the state of the sites, compiled on the basis of some 6,000 samples, is sent to the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna every year.

Secondly, an inventory will have to be drawn up of the substitute activities that could be conducted at Mururoa and at Hao, which has long been the rear base of the military operations. They are already equipped with power stations, desalination plants and landing strips long enough to allow Concorde or even the American space shuttle to land.

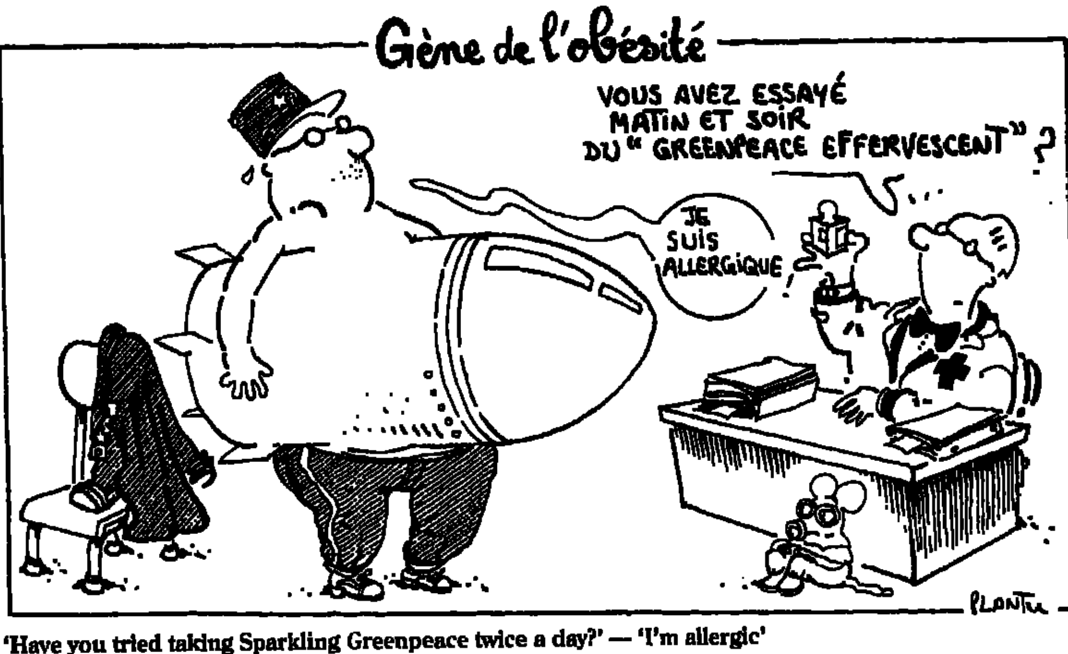
Some people suggest building an international oceanographic laboratory, or a space centre. Others dream of building a hotel complex. Still others want the atolls to be used to lessen the territory's dependence on food imports.

Meanwhile, the French army has decided to develop its idea of a military service adapted to local conditions, as in French Guiana, Réunion and New Caledonia. "With families broken up as they are in Polynesia, young people who drop out of school too soon either bum around or go windsurfing," says Rear Admiral Philippe Euverte, the commander of the armed forces at the sites.

Several hundred young Polynesian draftees will be given training in growing subsistence crops, market gardening, horticulture, stock farming, fish conservation, building and public works, and mechanics.

"By giving them professional training, we hope to keep the young men on the islands rather than see them rush off to Tahiti where they swell the ranks of the unemployed," the admiral said.

(August 11)



'Have you tried taking Sparkling Greenpeace twice a day?' — 'I'm allergic'

France must have courage to back down

EDITORIAL

THE PROGRAMME of nuclear tests at Mururoa that President Jacques Chirac has decided to go ahead with is becoming more difficult, not to say more uncertain, with every passing day. Ceremonies in Japan and elsewhere in the world marking the 50th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have taken a turn distinctly hostile to France.

France today appears to be in the unenviable company of China as the only other country in the world that officially still retains the development of atomic weapons on its agenda. Other nuclear powers use laboratory tests for upgrading their weapon's effectiveness in meeting future threats. Chirac's decision places France not in the company of the big nations that consider the period of the "balance of terror" to be a thing of the past, but rather alongside small and middle-sized powers trying to prolong testing for their own advantage.

Although the president has declared he is determined to sign the new non-proliferation treaty in 1996, this resumption of nuclear tests is perceived as having a "proliferating" effect.

Above and beyond the basic controversy and the debate about the effect of the Mururoa explosions on the environment, the programme of tests has been put in serious doubt by the universal hostility to the decision.

The question is whether the test programme, even abbreviated or brought forward, can be carried out in full given the opposition from the region. Public opinion in the South Pacific countries is rising against them. Environmental activists and pacifists have decided to go to Mururoa. And every test, whether officially announced or detected by seismographs and observation satellites, will provoke an outcry from governments in the region.

The language used in France by the supporters of the president's decision — the National Assembly speaker, Philippe Séguin, speaks of Australians "yapping" and the junior foreign trade minister, Christine Chauvet, equates the trade boycott with "terrorism" — betrays a frustration scarcely conducive to calm thinking.

The only thing of concern today should be how the president can extricate himself from the mess he has got into. He has been saying his decision is "irrevocable", but this has not silenced protests. Abandoning the programme would discredit Chirac less than stubbornly pursuing a course that is isolating France. The idea of deciding to "back down" is never an attractive one for a political leader, but there are genuinely courageous decisions that add to the stature of the person who makes them.

(August 8)

Czechs row over communists

Plans to try senior officials on charges of high treason are provoking dissent. **Martin Plichta** reports from Prague

WITH the Czech Republic getting ready to commemorate the 27th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's invasion by Warsaw Pact troops on August 21, the Prague police and the public prosecutor are in open disagreement over plans to prosecute 12 people, five of them former communist officials, for high treason.

More than five years after the Berlin Wall was torn down, officials at the bureau investigating communist crimes (UDV) believe they have enough damning evidence to put the officials on trial. But the public prosecutor, Libor Grygarek, has discovered technical flaws in the charges filed at the end of July. If the proceedings go ahead, it will be the first important trial of members of the former regime implicated in crushing the 1968 Prague Spring.

The UDV, set up in January, expects to prosecute about 20 people on charges of "collaborating with foreign powers" and various other crimes. The Soviet intervention in 1968 resulted in 80 deaths. The UDV deputy chief, Pavel Bret, says his service is interested, in particular, in prominent officials who "by their activities facilitated the Warsaw Pact armies' intervention".

Long thrashed out in debates and continually put off, the "settling of scores with the past", as it is called in Prague, is now under way. After the spring announcement that investigations had begun and charges filed against employees of the former communist secret police, the StB, the UDV is now going after the communist nomenklatura. Among the first to be charged were prominent representatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's conservative wing, who never accepted Alexander Dubcek's attempted liberalisation programme.

Jozef Lenart, prime minister from 1963 to May 1968, Milos Jakes, vice-minister of the interior until April 1968 and the last general secretary of the party before the "velvet revolution", and Karel Hoffmann, minister of culture and information until April 1968, are likely to get from 15 years to life, if found guilty.

Jakes reacted indignantly to the charges. "Looking among the communists for those who betrayed socialist Czechoslovakia is knocking on the wrong door. None of us committed high treason," he declared, convinced that the conservatives did the right thing.

He also accused the UDV, headed by Václav Benda, a former Roman Catholic dissident and cellmate of President Václav Havel in the 1980s, of wanting to stage "an anti-communist crusade and a political trial".

The charges have broad backing among the government's rightwing parties, but are disapproved of by the left. They come weeks after the government decided to extend the law banning former StB employees and collaborators, communist officials and members of the people's militias (the Communist party's fighting arm) from holding public office in a number of sectors for a period of five years. The law is expected to be extended for another two years pending a general law that will permanently ban these persons from holding responsible office in government.

Criticised at the time by many former dissidents and international organisations, such as the Council of Europe, the Czech Republic's unique "cleansing" laws, which no other ex-socialist country has applied so systematically, have got out of hand in some cases. In 1991, for example, newspapers published lists of people alleged to have worked with the StB, thereby unjustly branding them as "collaborators".

Coming at a time when action is already being taken against former communists, the new development is not a coincidence, as UDV officials claim. It is happening just as the reformed communists are again raising their heads above the parapet 10 months before parliamentary elections that are wide open. With the social democrats doing well in opinion polls and the party of the liberal prime minister, Václav Klaus — criticised on its right for being "too soft" on communists — flagging, Czechs are being offered a timely reminder of the spectre of communism.

(August 10)

China moves to fight Aids

Francis Deron in Beijing

FROM time to time China — and this is one of its endearing features — takes the trouble to review certitudes it had itself helped to forge. The most recent example of this has to do with sex. That communist — at least on paper — China beats all records in prudishness, apart perhaps from North Korea, is a well-worn cliché. As is the idea that Hong Kong, that abominable product of western decadence, is debauchery itself, like Taiwan.

But the record needs to be set straight. Two mainland universities — in Shanghai and Henan — have taken up a crusade against Aids and plan to distribute condoms to their students as part of a (theoretical) lesson on the art of wearing sheaths. Some 80,000 students will benefit from the programme.

The idea is to protect the country's future élites. To hell with political orthodoxy: China already has nearly 2,000 officially registered cases of HIV infection, which can be multiplied by five to get the true figure, according to experts.

And what's happening in Hong Kong, so long regarded as a den of vice? The very opposite. Twice this summer, the colony's "obscenity" court has offered itself the luxury of banning the exhibition in public of sculptures that would be judged inoffensive anywhere else — mainland China included.

(August 10)

Djibouti survives on French handouts

France's troops stationed in a former African colony are providing a lifeline for an ailing economy. **Jean-Pierre Tuquoi** reports from Djibouti

THE French ambassador held the July 14 reception at his summer residence at Altar, far from the steamy heat of the capital. It was a mild evening. There was plenty of champagne, and the service — provided by young military conscripts — couldn't be faulted.

The ambassador made the usual polite speech, but it was the reply by the president of Djibouti's national assembly, who is also the country's second-ranking dignitary, that caused some embarrassment. He told a startled audience of officers that the French forces stationed in Djibouti should take charge of rebuilding some of his country's infrastructure destroyed during three years of civil war.

Since its independence in 1977, the Republic of Djibouti has been living — or surviving — on aid from France. The money that French troops spend here accounts for nearly half the country's gross domestic product and more than a third of the government's revenue. The largest contracts go to the French army, be it for putting up a building or modernising a garrison. The French army is also the leading employer in a country that has a population of only 500,000.

France gives Djibouti about F300 million ($60 million) a year. There are also large numbers of French voluntary workers in the country, most of them teachers. The financial aid works out at about F600 ($120) per head of population, 10 times the amount allotted to Mali and Niger. But it is still not enough.

The country was run fairly efficiently until the early 1990s. But it is ailing today. Economic growth is a distant memory. Traffic through the port, the country's leading asset apart from its banking system, is steadily dwindling. If local statistics are a reliable guide, the public deficit is more than 10 per cent of GDP. Government salaries and pensions are paid late. And corruption is gnawing away at all levels of society.

One out of every two able-bodied people is out of work. Public coffers are empty, and the government has no qualms about dipping into the funds of the public enterprises that are still performing well.

"Society has lost its points of reference. Everything's upside down. It's exhausting," said one local resident.

"We're witnessing a slow deterioration, the country is falling apart," a diplomat added.

Since the end of the 1991-93 civil war between the Afars and the ruling Issas, the government has been building up its stocks of weapons and increasing its army from 4,000 to 15,000 men. Although they have much larger populations, neither Cameroon nor the Ivory Coast has an army as big as Djibouti's. The country has become a garrison

'Society has lost its points of reference. Everything's upside down. It's exhausting'

republic, the likes of which can be found nowhere else on the African continent.

It has not taken long for the mobilisation to produce its effects. The Afar rebels of the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (Frud) have surrendered their weapons and no longer pose a serious threat. But the country, with its overlarge and unreliable army, is bankrupt. Only the Islamists are benefiting from the situation.



'You'll stop laughing when you get the IMF'

"Islamic fundamentalism is on the rise," said Djibouti's Bishop Perron. "More and more women are wearing the veil."

According to Abdallah Kamil, the former prime minister and a leading Afar opposition figure: "Djibouti needs a government of national unity."

But his cautious call has little chance of falling on receptive ears, even though two former Frud officials have recently joined the government.

"National reconciliation" is still a hollow phrase. "It's just show. We still have a dictatorship with a tribal face," said a local resident.

Fear of harassment by the army is keeping Afar refugees from returning to their villages in the north. Instead, they squat on the outskirts of the capital in cardboard-and-tin shacks without running water, sanitation or electricity.

A power struggle is taking place among the Issas. Hassan Gouled Aptidou, who has been president since the country's independence, will soon be turning 80. He is said to be tired and few believe the "father of the nation" will live out his mandate, which ends in 1999.

His nephew and principal private secretary, Ismaël Omar Guelleh, seems to have the best chance of succeeding him. He is an intelligent, but violent, man who is said to be Paris's choice for want of a better candidate. He has two Issa rivals: the justice and Muslim affairs minister, Moumin Bahdou Farah, and the president's chief of staff, Ismaël Gueddi Hared, whose influence is reportedly waning.

"We don't want a hereditary succession of power," warned Oblik Carton, an opposition leader. "If there is an attempt to impose a successor on us, then Djibouti must be prepared for a scenario similar to Somalia."

All the politicians brandish the spectre of Somalia, especially when they seek France's support. But Paris is turning a deaf ear to such appeals. Michel Roussin, who was Edouard Balladur's minister of co-operation, was the last person to grant budgetary assistance to Djibouti. Local leaders know there will be no more until the young republic signs a structural adjustment programme with the International Monetary Fund.

An IMF team arrived in Djibouti

It has become a garrison republic, the likes of which cannot be found in Africa

at the end of July to go through the government's tangled accounts, and it should have a programme ready by the autumn.

Djibouti officials believe the situation could worsen if some of the French troops are withdrawn. And the prospect of withdrawal is not so far-fetched. The current hard times in France favour such a move, and the top military brass in Paris is said not to oppose it.

Keeping 10 Mirage F-1s in Djibouti, along with warships and substantial land forces — a total of 3,700 military personnel, most of whom have come here with their families — can be justified only as part of an overall regional plan. But France has no interests in the neighbouring countries — Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea. As for the Gulf war, it led to only a minor mobilisation of French forces in the Horn of Africa.

Apart from the substantial financial advantages that go with being posted here, Djibouti is worthwhile only for the room it allows for army exercises. Army manoeuvres can be carried out practically all over the territory. It also has a 200sq km shooting range, the only one of this size outside France.

"For us, it's a dream," said one French army officer. But it is a dream that is costing the French taxpayer dear.

(August 5)

Saudi Arabia moves slowly along road to democracy

Is the Wahabi regime using modernisation as an excuse to hold back political liberalisation, asks **Mouna Naïm**

DOES THE cabinet reshuffle on August 2 mean that in future Saudi Arabia's new information minister will answer even the most difficult questions from journalists? Will he stop laying down the law on what is and what is not allowed? The answer to both these questions is "no".

Saudi Arabia is no more ready to usher in a revolution in school and university programmes, or introduce a new oil policy than it is to allow spirited debates in the near future like those going on in Kuwait's National Council, where speakers unhesitatingly question members of the ruling family and challenge the relevance of laws and decrees promulgated by the emir himself.

There is no parliament in the land of the "custodian of Islam's two holy places" (Mecca and Medina). A consultative council of 60 members, all appointed by the king, came into existence in 1993. The Saudi monarch remains all-powerful; he decides the broad orientation of the country's domestic and foreign policies. The reshuffle has not brought any member of the opposition into the ministerial team, and it has neither altered the order of succession within the ruling family nor loosened the family's hold on the state. Western diplomats and many Saudis themselves believe such a change is long overdue.

The ministerial reshuffle was prompted by a desire to modernise the state apparatus, but there is no guarantee that modernisation will make life more democratic. On the other hand, there is a serious risk of the process being used as an excuse for not providing badly needed arenas for free expression.

Dictated by both domestic necessities as well as regional and international pressures, the reshuffle has resulted in younger men being given greater responsibilities but not more power. It is an irony of history that the Wahabi kingdom, which for decades served as the "guide" to the region's other governments, is now being forced to follow them.

Parliamentary democracy, however limited it may be, is functioning in Kuwait. Qatar is undergoing a rejuvenation after its ageing ruler was deposed by his son who has reshuffled a fossilised government and set up a stock exchange to stimulate the economy. Under popular pressure, Bahrain's ruler was forced to undertake his first cabinet reshuffle in 20 years, however token the gesture may be.

Though Oman emerged only 25 years ago from the Middle Ages in which it had been kept by Said bin Taimur, the present ruler's father, the sultanate has gone a step further. At the end of last year it did something completely unheard-of in the region — it included two women in a 60-member consultative council nominated by the sultan on the basis of regional "primaries". There is a good chance of pluralism taking root in Yemen, which is now unified, despite Riyadh's efforts to prevent this and despite the lost opportunities as a result of last year's civil war.

With all these changes taking place around it, Saudi Arabia can hardly afford to stand still.

After Kuwait was liberated, at the end of the Gulf war, King Fahd was also subjected to "friendly" pressure from the United States. Washington was anxious to see the country usher in democratic reforms as a clash loomed between liberals urging an opening up of the kingdom and the Islamist opposition insisting on a tightening of religious controls.

Both sides are clamouring for the right to express their views, and they condemn governmental apathy, widespread corruption and the squandering of resources. Washington, like other western countries, believes that support for the Islamic fundamentalist opposition could be stifled by cleaning up the administration and granting more forums that allow free expression. This would guarantee the stability of the kingdom — its strategic importance is plain to see — and its royal family.

Recent reforms — such as setting up a consultative council that also includes a member of the Shia minority, adopting a basic law, and regulating government mandates — have proceeded rapidly compared with past innovations. But political liberties are making no headway. In fact, they may actually be shrinking.

Under pressure from Islamic authorities — who form a fundamental prop to the kingdom — and fearful of weakening the royal family, the Saudi ruler hides behind the *sharia* (Koranic law) to negate the universal character of human rights.

Amnesty International regularly criticises the Saudi government for relentlessly hounding opponents and torturing prisoners. There is no freedom of worship, not even for foreign nationals living in the kingdom. In a country where state-of-the-art gadgets abound, no breach is tolerated of the iron rule of political and ideological correctness. Even satellite dishes were recently forbidden.

The hope of change can come only from steady pressure by a young and increasingly better-educated population fed up with having to go abroad to let their hair down. They have beome tired of waiting for democratic reforms. The days are long gone when the authorities could take 30 years to carry out a project, as they did with the consultative council and the fundamental law, both first considered by King Faisal back in 1963.

(August 5)

China's capitalist heart starts to beat

Shanghai looks set to become a towering commercial centre, writes **Erik Izraelewicz**

OPPOSITE the Bund, Shanghai's celebrated art deco waterfront boulevard, there now stands the world's tallest television tower (468 metres), which was completed a few weeks ago. Nearby, the "longest bridge in the world" — longest because of its interminable approach ramps — leads across the Huangpu river to Pudong (Shanghai East), the biggest development zone on the planet, where some 100 skyscrapers are under construction.

One of them, a 95-storey monster built by the Japanese, will shortly become the world's tallest building. By the end of the year, a 30-storey department store will open its doors. Needless to say, it will be bigger than any other built anywhere else in the world.

In modern Shanghai, superlatives are once again in vogue. The city is one huge building site. Day and night, teams of construction workers are employed simultaneously on the rehabilitation of the city's historic centre, a new underground line, a north-south urban expressway, a 48km ring road and, above all, Pudong. This industrial, financial and trade centre of colossal proportions will cover an area of 520 square kilometres — almost as big as Singapore.

When a delegation of French employers visited China four years ago, Shanghai was already one of several southern Chinese cities that had begun to take off economically: it had an annual growth rate of 20 per cent. At that time Pudong was still a run-down area, half urban and half rural, located between the Yangzijiang river and its tributary the Huangpu.

The French delegation showed polite interest in the models of the development zone they were shown, thinking no doubt that this was yet

It will surely be the next 'world-city', dominating the world economy at the start of the 21st century

another example of the kind of megalomaniac plan that communist technocrats love to hatch.

Today, however, there is no getting away from the fact that what is being built at Pudong will surely be, to use the historian Fernand Braudel's term, the next "world-city", the one that will dominate the "world-economy" at the beginning of the 21st century.

Braudel demonstrated that during each period in the history of capitalism there was a city — usually a port at the heart of the most dynamic growth zone of the time — in which the trading, industrial and financial power of the world was concentrated, and whose influence subsequently extended far beyond the economic sphere.

Genoa, Venice, Antwerp, Amsterdam, London, New York and Tokyo have successively played that role. Shanghai is a strong contender for their succession. First, it is one of the most populous (14 million inhabitants) and extensive cities in the world.

Geographically, it enjoys an exceptional location, forming a communications hub right in the middle of a region that already has, and will probably continue to have for the next two decades, the highest growth rate in the world.

Located on the Yangzijiang delta, Shanghai is the largest port in communist China and the third-largest in the world. Its hinterland, including the Yangzijiang valley, which is rich in raw materials, is already experiencing a boom. Pudong will be "the head of the dragon whose body is the Yangzijiang," says Yang Jianyi of the city's PR office.

Shanghai has another trump card: it was for a long time China's gateway to the outside world. This is reflected in its architecture. At the turn of the century, during the "first" period of unrestrained capitalism, it was an important trading centre.

The city has retained not only its lively street markets, but also its long-standing industrial and financial traditions. Forty-five years of communism have not completely snuffed out the "animal spirits" that are believed to encourage a sense of initiative in the people of Shanghai.

The city has now become the scene of a new outbreak of unrestrained capitalism. Westerners who have settled in Shanghai agree that the atmosphere resembles nothing more than the Wild West. "There's an extraordinary openmindedness and an entrepreneurial determination in this city that you won't find anywhere else in China," says Jan Borgonjon, one of the directors of the first private business school to be set up in the country.

The China Europe International Business School was originally opened in Beijing 10 years ago at the initiative of the European Community. Its aim was to train business managers. But Shanghai's magnetism was such that the school recently transferred there.

The city council donated a site in Pudong to the school, which will construct its own building to a design by the celebrated Shanghai-born architect, Ieoh Ming Pei. The gritty determination of the council, which was long bridled by central government, is another of the city's great strengths.

Traditionally an open city, Shanghai welcomes foreign capital. In its capacity as a showcase of Deng Xiaoping's reforms, it has managed, more successfully even than the "special economic zones" created in the eighties, to take advantage of the stampede by multinationals from all over the world to get in on the Chinese act.

Attracted not only by major tax incentives, but by markets and cheap labour, such giants as NEC, Siemens, Volkswagen, AT&T, Alcatel, Nestlé and Mitsubishi have been investing heavily. More than 35 foreign banks have begun once more to do business in China's former financial capital.

The city's communist councillors have been taking advice from committees of experts and the bosses of major western companies. These include two Frenchmen — Antoine Riboud and Edouard de Royère, the heads of Danone and Air Liquide respectively.

Shanghai has already become the most fashionable place for communist China's *nouveaux riches* to do their shopping in. Luxury goods manufacturers, such as Lalique, Louis Vuitton and Ralph Lauren, have opened stores, convinced that Shanghai will soon become a fashion capital once more. A few days ago, Printemps inaugurated its first department store in China, a five-storey building with a floor space of 10,000 square metres.

But it is Pudong that will no doubt turn Shanghai into a new "world-city". This mammoth project, which was launched by Beijing at the beginning of the nineties, is due for completion in 2030.

It will have everything: an airport, a deep-water harbour, a huge industrial zone, shopping centres, university campuses, a customs-free area, sites for hi-tech industrial companies, state-of-the-art telecommunications systems, and whole clumps of high-rise office blocks.

An example of Pudong-to-be is Lujiazhui, the financial centre now being built on the waterfront facing the Bund. The Bank of China has already moved into its new premises there. Six thousand workers are in the process of completing the building that will house the Shanghai stock exchange (it already has more than 200 companies on its listed market).

However, new-style Shanghai will have to face threats from two quarters. One of them is competition from Hong Kong, once the British have handed over their colony to China on July 1, 1997.

Hong Kong is well located, has a modern and effective infrastructure, and benefits from a wealthy and dynamic hinterland in the

Shanghai's economic, financial and cultural clout could end up causing jealous alarm in Beijing

shape of Canton and the province of Guangdong. Everything will depend on whether it is put to good use or stifled by its new master.

The other threat is more directly political. The future of Shanghai will be played out partly in Beijing. The Communist party has long sought to curb the economic development of southern China. Since the early nineties, the so-called "Shanghai clique", which enjoys a strong position within the party, has been favourable to the city. President Jiang Zemin and senior vice-premier Zhu Rongji, nicknamed the "tsar of the economy", are both former mayors of Shanghai.

But the wind may change. Although the man heading the Pudong project says nothing can stop it now, Shanghai's economic, financial and cultural clout could well end up causing jealous alarm in Beijing.

Braudel showed that rivalry between "world-cities" and the capitals of the countries in which they are located has been a constant feature of the history of capitalism. The fact that Beijing calls itself a communist regime does not make any difference. Indeed, it may well prove a boon to Shanghai.

(August 4)


A step down . . . begging has become widespread this summer

Brother, can you spare a franc?

A move to clamp down on begging in France has divided the government. **Michel Castaing** reports

EVER since the French interior minister, Jean-Louis Debré, sent out a controversial circular to prefects on July 20 urging them to ban begging, the government has been trying to play down the whole affair. And one minister has even come out openly against the ban. He is the culture minister and former health minister, Philippe Douste-Blazy.

In the August 6 issue of the Journal du Dimanche, Douste-Blazy wrote: "It is the duty of every responsible citizen to regard begging not as an offence or a failing that should be seized upon, but as a human predicament that can be relieved by a genuine form of solidarity.

"It would be quite wrong for beggars to be seen as the new enemies of modern society. Banning them from the community only adds a further degree of exclusion to that which they already suffer. Begging is a source of shame which should haunt all ministers past and present — and that includes myself — who, it is true, find it very hard to put themselves in the shoes of the homeless."

Debré now seems increasingly isolated within the government. While the prime minister's office pointed out on August 3 that the circular did no more than "reiterate existing legislation", it did also go on to echo an earlier statement by the Prime Minister, Alain Juppé, and his secretary of state for emergency humanitarian action, Xavier Emmanuelli: "It is also true that the many causes of begging cannot be eliminated by order of the prefect."

Although the issue has clearly caused tensions within the Juppé government, no political party has officially entered the fray. This is no doubt because the more repressively minded mayors come from every part of the political spectrum, from the Communist party (Tarbes), the Socialist party (Pau) and the Radical party (La Rochelle) to the neo-Gaullist RPR (Valence, Avignon), the centre-right UDF (Perpignan, Angoulême) and the National Front (Toulon).

The begging issue, which is closely connected with the problem of social exclusion, has not prompted comment from any luminary of the left. Could it be that they are all on holiday?

For rather different reasons, voluntary associations have also tended to avoid the controversy. Only the League of Human Rights, the Abbé Pierre Foundation and Droits Devant have protested against the Debré circular.

Associations that work throughout the year trying to ensure that those who fall through the safety net are not forced to become beggars may feel that if they rock the boat too hard they will hinder the efforts being made by two of their leading figures, Bernard Quaretta and Danielle Huèges, who have been officially asked by Emmanuelli to act as mediators with city mayors.

Their mission should throw light on why begging has become so widespread this summer, particularly in towns and cities that hold festivals. Emmanuelli is not alone in believing that the main battalions of beggars are made up of young drop-outs.

Although some of them could be defined as belonging to a deliberate backpacker culture, it should not be forgotten that persons under 25 who are out of a job and have no children are not entitled to income support.

It is they who mostly account for the 9 per cent of the poor who, according to a recent survey by a government advisory body, the Economic and Social Council (ESC), say they have "no income whatsoever".

BUT THERE are also other categories of people who have no means of support, quite apart from *clochards* (tramps): isolated individuals who have slipped through the income support net as a result of mistakes by the social security department or, more often, because they are not aware of their rights.

It is hard to locate people who occupy what the ESC survey described as "interstitial shelter" (squats, underground car parks, spaghetti junctions and so on). There are also those who live on the fringes of society, such as foreigners without residence permits or people who, whether justifiably or not, are frightened of applying to any kind of authority.

The ESC has called for the creation of an allowance to help the under-25s find their first job. In the meantime, those who have no means of support, no source of aid and no possibility of finding a job are forced to resort either to begging or to petty crime. That being the case, who should be holding out their hand, and to whom?

(August 8)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
August 20 1995

The mirror image of a surrealist punk

The life and work of the photographer Claude Cahun is the subject of a major reappraisal, writes **Michel Guerrin**

THE Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris is on decidedly good form. This summer and early autumn, in addition to shows devoted to two major modern artists, Marc Chagall and Louise Bourgeois, it has organised a remarkably precise and intelligent exhibition of works by the photographer Claude Cahun.

Until recently, little was known about Cahun. Her ambiguously mannish-looking self-portraits used to pop up from time to time in exhibitions devoted to Surrealism. The show at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris offers a full account of her itinerary as a photographer. It includes well over 100 pictures, many of them small (the same size as the negative), from several private and public collections. Also on show are books and notebooks which reveal Cahun to be the author of hard-hitting pamphlets.

The show opens with her self-portraits, which are undoubtedly the finest, most personal, most striking and most moving of her works. Through them, we learn how a woman called Lucy Schwob thought up a name, a gender, a head, a body and an identity for herself.

She adopted a pseudonym redolent of sexual ambiguity (Claude is both a man and a woman's name) "because of its kinship with Léon Cahun, my maternal grandmother's brother". She cropped her hair very short, sometimes dying it pink, gold or silver. On occasion she shaved her head completely.

She emphasised the harshness of her face and her hooked nose, painted delicate hearts on her cheeks, used masks and other artifices — mirrors, dark glasses, tinting, double images, makeup.

Cahun alternated between the lyrical and the descriptive. One moment, she was inventing sophisticated tableaux inspired by experiences and narrative games that were very much of their period; the next, she offered stark images, both from the front and in profile, in which she opts for total spareness.

Cahun started taking photographs in 1910. She had no connections with any artistic movement or school and showed her pictures only to a few friends.

As she was frightened by the world — "The animal horror of any contact with my fellow creatures is something I feel as constantly as a cat does" — she preferred to construct a universe of her own with the woman who shared her life from 1909, Suzanne Malherbe ("Moore"), whom she called "the other me".

Cahun invented characters with her own body and carried out transformations in a way that no one had ever dared to do before her: she turned into a man, sometimes looked like a punk before her time, sported a suit and tie, donned garments straight out of The Thousand And One Nights, or dressed up as a gymnast complete with dumbbells.

By cross-dressing, Cahun asserted her independence and denied her femininity and the social conventions of the period. Her photographs sometimes show her head imprisoned in a glass cloche. Her gender is either denied or exaggerated (although she never posed in the nude).

In 1932, Cahun used bits of wood, a spoon and pieces of metal to make and photograph a construction called Père (Father), who lies spreadeagled on the ground, abandoned and apparently dead, with his genitals shattered by an explosion and a thin metal rod stuck in his navel.

As well as photographing herself, Cahun took portraits of friends like Sylvia Beach, Robert Desnos, Henri Michaux, André Breton, and Suzanne Malherbe. She also produced disturbing snapshots (a body floating between sky, water and rock), mysterious *jeux de mains* (juxtaposed pairs of hands), and subtle assemblies of objects, including dolls and wooden models, in a manner reminiscent of Man Ray.



Claude Cahun, self-portrait (1928). She emphasised her angularity

These experimental works, which hover somewhere between the real and the imaginary, place Cahun's vision firmly in a Surrealist perspective. But her *oeuvre* is difficult to pin down, since it is at once idealistic and pessimistic, lyrical and realist.

Although there are hints of her far-left political commitment (she uses the communist newspaper L'Humanité in the construction of figurines), the main feature of her work is its eclecticism and its refusal to be constrained by any system.

As François Leperlier writes in the excellent exhibition catalogue: "Resistant as she was to any specialisation of the creative processes, she multiplied her means of expression as though they were a series of roles in which she refused to become typecast — poet, essayist, literary critic, short-story writer, translator, actress, 'constructor and explorer of objects', photographer and revolutionary activist — and which, when looked at objectively, were doomed to remain only partly successful."

Cahun will be remembered for having been the first photographer to have explored the art of the self-portrait in a systematic and intelligent way. And she did so throughout her life. Her aim was less to assert herself as an artist than to give notice of her presence.

Thus, during the Occupation of Jersey (towards the end of which she was arrested and sentenced to death by the Nazis), Cahun devised a series of eight pictures entitled Le Chemin des Chats (The Cats' Way), in which she portrays herself as a blind woman led by a cat on a lead.

These images can be interpreted as an extension of her life as an eccentric, who in the thirties, as Leperlier reminds us, sashayed into parties arm in arm with Malherbe, wearing "an extravagant dress or a man's outfit, complete with monocle". They can also be seen as an exemplary vehicle for a discussion of androgyny.

Cahun's approach is at opposite poles from that of the American artist Cindy Sherman, who for more than 20 years now has been building up an *oeuvre* based on self-portraits, and who has been described, perhaps wrongly, as the first woman photographer to work in the genre.

Whereas Cahun is at one with her work, in the sense that photography is an extension of her own story, Sherman simply chooses her body as a model with which to reconstruct stereotypes of American women — or women in general — during the seventies and eighties, and, more recently, to display the ill-being of the body.

Claude Cahun, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris. Closed Monday. Until September 17

(July 5)

A life in photographs

LUCETTE (LUCY) SCHWOB was born in Nantes on October 25, 1894. Her parents were upper-middle-class intellectuals. Her uncle was the writer Marcel Schwob. Her mother became mentally ill and had to be committed to a psychiatric hospital, *writes Michel Guerrin*.

Her father, who was Jewish, sent her to school in England in 1907 because of the anti-Semitic climate in France following Dreyfus's rehabilitation. Two years later came her "shattering encounter" with Suzanne Malherbe (daughter of the woman who later became Cahun's father's second wife), and the beginning of a "jealous, exclusive passion" for her.

In 1914, while still a student of literature and philosophy at the Sorbonne, Cahun began to get her work published by Le Mercure de France.

In 1917, she adopted the pseudonym of Claude Cahun (Cahun was her great uncle's surname). She and Malherbe ("Moore") set up house on the top floor of the Phare de la Loire building. She produced her first self-portraits.

A year later, she made the acquaintance of the celebrated booksellers, Sylvia Beach and Adrienne Monnier. In 1920, Cahun and Malberhe moved to Paris. Their studio became a noted meeting-place of artists and intellectuals. In 1929, she acted at, and took photographs of, the Théâtre des Recherches Dramatiques, Pierre Albert-Birot's experimental theatre. Mercure de France published her translation of the first volume of Havelock Ellis's Studies In The Psychology Of Sex. One of her photographs was published for the first time in the magazine Bifur.

The following year, she brought out a long autobiographical essay, Aveux Non Avenus (Null And Void Confession), with photomontages by herself and "Moore". She joined the Association of Revolutionary Writers and Artists, befriended the poet Robert Desnos and the Surrealist André Breton, and published work in the Surrealist review Minotaure.

In 1934, she brought out a pamphlet on poetic commitment and experimentation, Les Paris Sont Ouverts (It's Anyone's Bet), which attracted much attention. In 1936, she took part in Surrealist exhibitions in Paris and London.

The following year, Cahun and Malherbe settled in Jersey. Immediately after the German Occupation of the island in 1940, they carried out isolated acts of resistance, producing tracts and photomontages designed to suggest that there were opponents of Nazism in the German army.

In 1944, they were arrested and sentenced to death, but managed narrowly to escape execution. Many of Cahun's photographs and archives were destroyed by the Nazis. She died in St Helier on December 8, 1954.

In memory of a village massacre

Georges Chatain

THE VILLAGE of Oradour-sur-Glane, near Limoges, occupies an unenviable place in the history books: on June 10, 1944, retreating stormtroopers of the Das Reich Division massacred 648 of its inhabitants after herding them into a church.

In memory of the dead, the half-destroyed village was left as it was and after the war a new Oradour-sur-Glane was built nearby.

Five years after the massacre, a group of prominent intellectuals with communist sympathies presented a Livre d'Or (Visitor's Book) to the village as a tribute to the dead. It was subsequently put in mothballs and forgotten for 45 years in the cellars of the new municipal hall.

The book, a veritable treasure trove, resurfaced recently and is now on show at Oradour-sur-Glane. It contains autographed poems by Louis Aragon and Tristan Tzara, unknown works by Pablo Picasso, Fernand Léger, Marcel Gromaire, André Fougeron and Paul Colin, a handwritten score by the composer Jean Wiener, and a manuscript text by the physicist François Joliot-Curie amidst dozens of other dedications and signatures.

On June 12, 1949, convoys of vehicles from all over France converged on Oradour-sur-Glane. The biggest of them, which came from Paris, was headed by Joliot-Curie and Aragon, who wrote his "Chanson de la Caravane d'Oradour" specially for the occasion.

The actual date of the fifth anniversary of the massacre was June 10, 1949. On that day, the defence minister, Paul Ramadier, had travelled to Oradour-sur-Glane to award the martyred village a collective Légion d'Honneur. The honour was spurned by its communist councillors, who accused the government of not being energetic enough in bringing the perpetrators of the massacre to justice (they had been identified).

The rediscovery of the Livre d'Or has resulted in a small but powerful exhibition, given added interest by another controversial artefact: a model of the "monument to victims and martyrs" executed in 1945 by the Catalan sculptor Apelles Fenosa, which represents a nude pregnant woman being devoured by flames.

At the time, the sculpture was vehemently rejected on the grounds of its "carnal aesthetics". The bishop of Limoges said: "Survivors and relatives of the martyrs would be entitled to see it as an insult to the martyrs and an affront to their own grief."

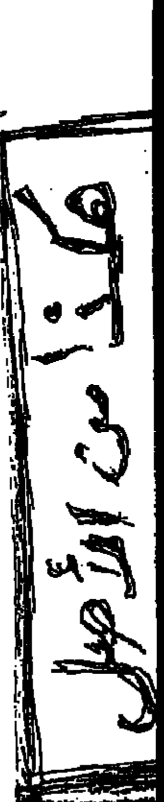
Thirty years later, the bronze statue was finally taken out of the national collections, where it had been put for safe keeping, and erected at a crossroads on the outskirts of Limoges on the Oradour-sur-Glane road.

Livre d'Or Oradour-sur-Glane, Municipal Hall, Oradour-sur-Glane (Haute-Vienne). Closed Monday. Until September 10

(August 2)

Le Monde

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani



inton Crackdown n Teen Smoking

wroy and John Schwartz

CCUSING the tobacco indus- ry of seducing young people o smoke, President Clinton k ordered a historic govern- d crackdown on underage g that was immediately chal- in federal court.

s after the Food and Drug stration formally published a roposed limits on tobacco ad- g, promotion and sales tech- , Clinton said in a White news conference that his as to cut teen smoking in half arply curtailing "the deadly tations of tobacco and its skill- keting" by the industry.

e evidence is overwhelming e threat immediate," Clinton Cigarettes and smokeless to- are harmful, highly addictive ggressively marketed to our people."

ton's dramatic step of giving DA authority to regulate ciga- because of their nicotine con- llowed the agency to begin the ss of rulemaking with the pub- n of a list of proposed rules ning teenage smoking.

ong those cited by Clinton at ews conference are proposals would outlaw tobacco brand- sponsorship of sporting s and brand-name advertising ms like hats and t-shirts; a ban garette vending-machine sales garettes can only be bought the counter where proof of age d be required; a requirement the industry run a $150 million cation campaign against under- smoking; limits on the kind of ads allowed in publications that have significant youth readership and a federal law, to match state laws, making underage smoking a crime.

The initiatives mesh to form a comprehensive anti-tobacco package, according to FDA Commissioner David Kessler. "Don't let the simplicity of these proposals fool you," Kessler said. If all elements of the anti-smoking package come into play together, he said, "we could see nicotine addiction go the way of smallpox and polio."

Five major U.S. cigarette manufactors asserted in their suit that the FDA has no legal right to regulate tobacco and sought a court injunction to end the process until the issue of jurisdiction can be settled in a court, a process even the White House acknowledges could take years. Decrying the "radical views" of Kessler, the Brown & Williamson Tobacco Co. charged these restrictions were only a first step: "The agenda is clearly backdoor prohibition."

A coalition representing advertisers asserted the rules limiting advertising are an unconstitutional violation of the First Amendment. "We live in a nation of laws not edicts," said Daniel L. Jaffe of the Association of National Advertisers. "Advertisers will carry this fight all the way to the Supreme Court."

But medical authorities widely praised Clinton. "It is an excellent step in the direction of improving the public health of all Americans," said Lonnie Bristow, president of the American Medical Association. Sidney Smith, president of the American Heart Association, called the regulations "probably the most important public health move by the government in the last 30 years."

YES, MR. PRESIDENT, WE'RE AWARE THAT CHILDREN ARE SMOKING. TRUST US. WE'RE WORKING ON THAT.
TOBACCO INDUSTRY HEAD-QUARTERS
IT'S NEAT!
IT'S SEXY!
IT'S COOL!
AUTH

Clinton said his preference was for Congress to pass legislation incorporating the restrictions, and White House Press Secretary Michael McCurry said if that occurred, the rulemaking process would become moot.

Friends of the tobacco industry, a powerful force in Congress both because of its campaign contributions and the jobs generated, reacted with outrage. Sen. Wendall Ford (Dem Kentucky), complained bitterly on the Senate floor minutes after Clinton's announcement that "my farmers lost out to the zealots." He and other tobacco state legislators had heavily lobbied the president to reach a compact with the tobacco industry in lieu of giving the FDA jurisdiction.

Some Republicans complained it was another sign of Democratic passion for overregulation, pointing to rules that would limit some tobacco ads to black and white type with no pictures or one that would set the number of feet from playgrounds billboards with cigarette advertising would have to locate.

Union leaders complained about job loss, citing the FDA's own assessment that the rules, if they succeeed in halving teenage smoking, would reduce tobacco-related jobs by 1,000 per year and cost the industry about $256 million in revenue the first year and as much as $1.2 billion in 10 years. "Regulating away thousands of American jobs is not the way" to reduce teenage smoking, Frank Hurt, president of the union representing tobacco workers said.

But Clinton on Thursday brushed aside complaints — even one about his occasional private puffing on cigars. Clinton emphasized repeatedly that his rules are aimed at young people, not adults, and all but pledged they would go no further.

The tobacco industry questioned Clinton's intentions. "Make no mistake, the real hidden agenda here is prohibition," said Steve Parrish, the Philip Morris spokesman.

Parrish said the manufacturers believe other meaningful steps can and are being taken to prevent minors from smoking. They include: restricting access to cigarette vending machines, proof-of-age requirements and better training of retail sales clerks.

rand Jury Indicts Oklahoma Bombing Suspects

re Thomas and
rge Lardner Jr.

FEDERAL grand jury in Oklahoma City last week accused othy James McVeigh and Terry n Nichols of conspiring to b the Alfred P. Murrah Federal ding last April and said it was vinced that others, as yet dentified, had taken part in the t.

There was "probable cause" to ieve there were more conspira- s. The 11-count indictment al- ed the defendants plotted gether and with others un- own," but it made no reference to role these others might have yed. Attorney General Janet no said at a news conference in shington that "the investigation continuing" but she declined to ment on the prospects of iden- ying and apprehending any co- spirators.

A friend and onetime Army ddy of the two main defendants, chael Fortier, was charged in a arate indictment with knowing ir plans and concealing it from enforcement authorities. He also charged with lying to the I and with involvement in a rob- y that helped finance the terror- attack. One hundred and y-eight people were killed and dreds more injured.

Fortier has struck a deal with Justice Department prosecutors and is expected to testify against McVeigh and Nichols. What he has to say could provide the government with the most direct information to date in a case thus far built largely on circumstantial and forensic evidence.

U.S. Attorney Pat Ryan said in Oklahoma City that prosecutors will seek the death penalty against McVeigh and Nichols. Attorney General Reno, who is supposed to have the final say, announced shortly after the bombing that the death penalty would be sought against those responsible. Defense lawyers protested again last week that Reno had improperly made up her mind in advance and should disqualify herself.

Fortier, who formally pleaded guilty to the charges against him last week, faces a maximum of 23 years in prison and fines totaling $1 million if convicted of the four counts against him.

"What we will do is pursue every lead, based on the evidence," Reno said when asked about additional suspects. "But we have charged everyone involved that we have evidence of at this point."

Asked about the dismembered leg clothed in military garb found deep in the blast site, officials here and in Oklahoma City said investigators are still trying to determine whether it has any bearing on the case. Last week's discovery touched off speculation that it may have belonged to a man some witnesses said they saw with McVeigh on the morning of the April 19 bombing.

Regarding another unsolved mystery, FBI Director Louis J. Freeh, who joined Reno at the news conference, said the bureau has not withdrawn a circular showing a muscular man known as "John Doe 2" whom some witnesses said they saw with McVeigh when he picked up the Ryder rental truck used in the bombing.

"So he (John Doe 2) still is an active suspect?" Freeh was asked.

"I wouldn't characterize him as that," Freeh replied. "My answer is that we haven't withdrawn the circular right now."

The government has withdrawn all charges against Terry Nichols's brother, James. He had been picked up in Michigan shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing and was held for a month in jail as a material witness before being indicted on three explosives charges. In acknowledging the case against James Nichols had fizzled, U.S. Attorney Saul A. Green said in Detroit that "additional investigation failed to corroborate some of the important evidence on which the government initially relied."

The most exhaustive investigations in the nation's history charged McVeigh and Nichols with conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction to kill people and destroy federal property, with using a truck bomb to kill people, and with malicious destruction of property resulting in death. The conspiracy charge lists by name all persons who died inside the Murrah Building in order of their age from 73 to four months.

THE indictment skirts the questions of why and just when McVeigh, 27, and Nichols, 40, decided to blow up the Murrah Building, but it lists the first overt act as having taken place on September 22, 1994, when McVeigh rented a storage unit in Herington, Kansas, in the name of "Shawn Rivers." In a sparse chronology, the indictment tells of how the two defendants allegedly collected materials for the bomb, stored them and eventually assembled the devise.

Defense attorneys for McVeigh and Nichols attacked the prosecution case as a rush to judgment and said they would press to have the trial held outside Oklahoma.

"Terry Nichols is not guilty of the allegations of which he is charged," said Nichols's chief defense lawyer, Michael Tigar. He denounced the government's case as "a warmed-over version of circumstantial evidence" and asserted there was nothing new in it.

Tigar also assailed Fortier. "If you want to know who's confessed to being involved in the bombing, he's (Fortier) right down the street," the defense attorney said. "We do not fear anything Mr. Fortier has to say."

Fortier's lawyer, Michael McGuire, described his client as full of remorse. "There is no expression of grief or words sufficient to describe his anguish over the responsibility he feels for knowing about the plans to bomb the Murrah Building," McGuire said in an interview at his office.

Stephen Jones, McVeigh's chief lawyer, suggested the government's grant of immunity to Fortier's wife, Lori, was a strong factor along with the plea bargain Fortier struck.

"I think any time the government has to give two (potential) codefendants a pretty good deal, there are weaknesses in the case," Jones told reporters. He quickly sought to cloud the prosecution's contentions by issuing a statement about a government informant who late last year warned federal authorities of a developing bomb plot against a federal building in a midwestern city.

According to Jones, the informant described the orchestrators of the plot as a "combination of American citizens and, he thought, either Latin Americans or Arabs. The individuals were identified by Arabic names."

The mirror image of a surrealist punk

The life and work of the photographer Claude Cahun is the subject of a major reappraisal, writes **Michel Guerrin**

THE Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris is on decidedly good form. This summer and early autumn, in addition to shows devoted to two major modern artists, Marc Chagall and Louise Bourgeois, it has organised a remarkably precise and intelligent exhibition of works by the photographer Claude Cahun.

Until recently, little was known about Cahun. Her ambiguously mannish-looking self-portraits used to pop up from time to time in exhibitions devoted to Surrealism. The show at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris offers a full account of her itinerary as a photographer. It includes well over 100 pictures, many of them small (the same size as the negative), from several private and public collections. Also on show are books and notebooks which reveal Cahun to be the author of hard-hitting pamphlets.

The show opens with her self-portraits, which are undoubtedly the finest, most personal, most striking and most moving of her works. Through them, we learn how a woman called Lucy Schwob thought up a name, a gender, a head, a body and an identity for herself.

She adopted a pseudonym redolent of sexual ambiguity (Claude is both a man and a woman's name) "because of its kinship with Léon Cahun, my maternal grandmother's brother". She cropped her hair very short, sometimes dying it pink, gold or silver. On occasion she shaved her head completely.

She emphasised the harshness of her face and her hooked nose, painted delicate hearts on her cheeks, used masks and other artifices — mirrors, dark glasses, tinting, double images, makeup.

Cahun alternated between the lyrical and the descriptive. One moment, she was inventing sophisticated tableaux inspired by experiences and narrative games that were very much of their period; the next, she offered stark images, both from the front and in profile, in which she opts for total spareness.

Cahun started taking photographs in 1910. She had no connections with any artistic movement or school and showed her pictures only to a few friends.

As she was frightened by the world — "The animal horror of any contact with my fellow creatures is something I feel as constantly as a cat does" — she preferred to construct a universe of her own with the woman who shared her life from 1909, Suzanne Malherbe ("Moore"), whom she called "the other me".

Cahun invented characters with her own body and carried out transformations in a way that no one had ever dared to do before her: she turned into a man, sometimes looked like a punk before her time, sported a suit and tie, donned garments straight out of The Thousand And One Nights, or dressed up as a gymnast complete with dumbbells.

By cross-dressing, Cahun asserted her independence and denied her femininity and the social conventions of the period. Her photographs sometimes show her head imprisoned in a glass cloche. Her gender is either denied or exaggerated (although she never posed in the nude).

In 1932, Cahun used bits of wood, a spoon and pieces of metal to make and photograph a construction called Père (Father), who lies spreadeagled on the ground, abandoned and apparently dead, with his genitals shattered by an explosion and a thin metal rod stuck in his navel.

As well as photographing herself, Cahun took portraits of friends like Sylvia Beach, Robert Desnos, Henri Michaux, André Breton, and Suzanne Malherbe. She also produced disturbing snapshots (a body floating between sky, water and rock), mysterious *jeux de mains* (juxtaposed pairs of hands), and subtle assemblies of objects, including dolls and wooden models, in a manner reminiscent of Man Ray.



Claude Cahun, self-portrait (1928). She emphasised her angularity

These experimental works, which hover somewhere between the real and the imaginary, place Cahun's vision firmly in a Surrealist perspective. But her *oeuvre* is difficult to pin down, since it is at once idealistic and pessimistic, lyrical and realist.

Although there are hints of her far-left political commitment (she uses the communist newspaper L'Humanité in the construction of figurines), the main feature of her work is its eclecticism and its refusal to be constrained by any system.

As François Leperlier writes in the excellent exhibition catalogue: "Resistant as she was to any specialisation of the creative processes, she multiplied her means of expression as though they were a series of roles in which she refused to become typecast — poet, essayist, literary critic, short-story writer, translator, actress, 'constructor and explorer of objects', photographer and revolutionary activist — and which, when looked at objectively, were doomed to remain only partly successful."

Cahun will be remembered for having been the first photographer to have explored the art of the self-portrait in a systematic and intelligent way. And she did so throughout her life. Her aim was less to assert herself as an artist than to give notice of her presence.

Thus, during the Occupation of Jersey (towards the end of which she was arrested and sentenced to death by the Nazis), Cahun devised a series of eight pictures entitled Le Chemin des Chats (The Cats' Way), in which she portrays herself as a blind woman led by a cat on a lend.

These images can be interpreted as an extension of her life as an eccentric, who in the thirties, as Leperlier reminds us, sashayed into parties arm in arm with Malherbe, wearing "an extravagant dress or a man's outfit, complete with monocle". They can also be seen as an exemplary vehicle for a discussion of androgyny.

Cahun's approach is at opposite poles from that of the American artist Cindy Sherman, who for more than 20 years now has been building up an *oeuvre* based on self-portraits, and who has been described, perhaps wrongly, as the first woman photographer to work in the genre.

Whereas Cahun is at one with her work, in the sense that photography is an extension of her own story, Sherman simply chooses her body as a model with which to reconstruct stereotypes of American women — or women in general — during the seventies and eighties, and, more recently, to display the ill-being of the body.

Claude Cahun, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris. Closed Monday. Until September 17

(July 5)

A life in photographs

LUCETTE (LUCY) SCHWOB was born in Nantes on October 25, 1894. Her parents were upper-middle-class intellectuals. Her uncle was the writer Marcel Schwob. Her mother became mentally ill and had to be committed to a psychiatric hospital, *writes Michel Guerrin*.

Her father, who was Jewish, sent her to school in England in 1907 because of the anti-Semitic climate in France following Dreyfus's rehabilitation. Two years later came her "shattering encounter" with Suzanne Malherbe (daughter of the woman who later became Cahun's father's second wife), and the beginning of a "jealous, exclusive passion" for her.

In 1914, while still a student of literature and philosophy at the Sorbonne, Cahun began to get her work published by Le Mercure de France.

In 1917, she adopted the pseudonym of Claude Cahun (Cahun was her great uncle's surname). She and Malherbe ("Moore") set up house on the top floor of the Phare de la Loire building. She produced her first self-portraits.

A year later, she made the acquaintance of the celebrated booksellers, Sylvia Beach and Adrienne Monnier. In 1920, Cahun and Malberhe moved to Paris. Their studio became a noted meeting-place of artists and intellectuals. In 1929, she acted at, and took photographs of, the Théâtre des Recherches Dramatiques, Pierre Albert-Birot's experimental theatre. Mercure de France published her translation of the first volume of Havelock Ellis's Studies In The Psychology Of Sex. One of her photographs was published for the first time in the magazine Bifur.

The following year, she brought out a long autobiographical essay, Aveux Non Avenus (Null And Void Confession), with photomontages by herself and "Moore". She joined the Association of Revolutionary Writers and Artists, befriended the poet Robert Desnos and the Surrealist André Breton, and published work in the Surrealist review Minotaure.

In 1934, she brought out a pamphlet on poetic commitment and experimentation, Les Paris Sont Ouverts (It's Anyone's Bet), which attracted much attention. In 1936, she took part in Surrealist exhibitions in Paris and London.

The following year, Cahun and Malherbe settled in Jersey. Immediately after the German Occupation of the island in 1940, they carried out isolated acts of resistance, producing tracts and photomontages designed to suggest that there were opponents of Nazism in the German army.

In 1944, they were arrested and sentenced to death, but managed narrowly to escape execution. Many of Cahun's photographs and archives were destroyed by the Nazis. She died in St Helier on December 8, 1954.

In memory of a village massacre

Georges Chatain

THE VILLAGE of Oradour-sur-Glane, near Limoges, occupies an unenviable place in the history books: on June 10, 1944, retreating stormtroopers of the Das Reich Division massacred 648 of its inhabitants after herding them into a church.

In memory of the dead, the half-destroyed village was left as it was and after the war a new Oradour-sur-Glane was built nearby.

Five years after the massacre, a group of prominent intellectuals with communist sympathies presented a Livre d'Or (Visitor's Book) to the village as a tribute to the dead. It was subsequently put in mothballs and forgotten for 45 years in the cellars of the new municipal hall.

The book, a veritable treasure trove, resurfaced recently and is now on show at Oradour-sur-Glane. It contains autographed poems by Louis Aragon and Tristan Tzara, unknown works by Pablo Picasso, Fernand Léger, Marcel Gromaire, André Fougeron and Paul Colin, a handwritten score by the composer Jean Wiener, and a manuscript text by the physicist François Joliot-Curie amidst dozens of other dedications and signatures.

On June 12, 1949, convoys of vehicles from all over France converged on Oradour-sur-Glane. The biggest of them, which came from Paris, was headed by Joliot-Curie and Aragon, who wrote his "Chanson de la Caravane d'Oradour" specially for the occasion.

The actual date of the fifth anniversary of the massacre was June 10, 1949. On that day, the defence minister, Paul Ramadier, had travelled to Oradour-sur-Glane to award the martyred village a collective Légion d'Honneur. The honour was spurned by its communist councillors, who accused the government of not being energetic enough in bringing the perpetrators of the massacre to justice (they had been identified).

The rediscovery of the Livre d'Or has resulted in a small but powerful exhibition, given added interest by another controversial artefact: a model of the "monument to victims and martyrs" executed in 1945 by the Catalan sculptor Apelles Fenosa, which represents a nude pregnant woman being devoured by flames.

At the time, the sculpture was vehemently rejected on the grounds of its "carnal aesthetics". The bishop of Limoges said: "Survivors and relatives of the martyrs would be entitled to see it as an insult to the martyrs and an affront to their own grief."

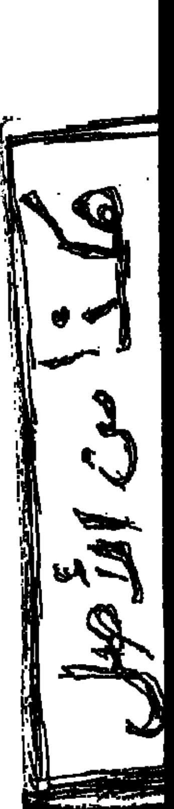
Thirty years later, the bronze statue was finally taken out of the national collections, where it had been put for safe keeping, and erected at a crossroads on the outskirts of Limoges on the Oradour-sur-Glane road.

Livre d'Or Oradour-sur-Glane, Municipal Hall, Oradour-sur-Glane (Haute-Vienne). Closed Monday. Until September 10

(August 2)

Le Monde

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani



The Washington Post

Clinton Crackdown On Teen Smoking

Ann Devroy and John Schwartz

YES, MR. PRESIDENT, WE'RE AWARE THAT CHILDREN ARE SMOKING. TRUST US, WE'RE WORKING ON THAT.

IT'S NEAT! IT'S SEXY! IT'S COOL!

TOBACCO INDUSTRY HEAD-QUARTERS

AUTH

ACCUSING the tobacco industry of seducing young people to smoke, President Clinton last week ordered a historic government-led crackdown on underage smoking that was immediately challenged in federal court.

Hours after the Food and Drug Administration formally published a list of proposed limits on tobacco advertising, promotion and sales techniques, Clinton said in a White House news conference that his goal was to cut teen smoking in half by sharply curtailing "the deadly temptations of tobacco and its skillful marketing" by the industry.

"The evidence is overwhelming and the threat immediate," Clinton said, "Cigarettes and smokeless tobacco are harmful, highly addictive and aggressively marketed to our young people."

Clinton's dramatic step of giving the FDA authority to regulate cigarettes because of their nicotine content allowed the agency to begin the process of rulemaking with the publication of a list of proposed rules governing teenage smoking.

Among those cited by Clinton at his news conference are proposals that would outlaw tobacco brand-name sponsorship of sporting events and brand-name advertising on items like hats and t-shirts; a ban on cigarette vending-machine sales so cigarettes can only be bought over the counter where proof of age would be required; a requirement that the industry run a $150 million education campaign against underage smoking; limits on the kind of ads allowed in publications that have significant youth readership and a federal law, to match state laws, making underage smoking a crime.

The initiatives mesh to form a comprehensive anti-tobacco package, according to FDA Commissioner David Kessler. "Don't let the simplicity of these proposals fool you," Kessler said. If all elements of the anti-smoking package come into play together, he said, "we could see nicotine addiction go the way of smallpox and polio."

Five major U.S. cigarette manufactors asserted in their suit that the FDA has no legal right to regulate tobacco and sought a court injunction to end the process until the issue of jurisdiction can be settled in a court, a process even the White House acknowledges could take years. Decrying the "radical views" of Kessler, the Brown & Williamson Tobacco Co. charged these restrictions were only a first step: "The agenda is clearly backdoor prohibition."

A coalition representing advertisers asserted the rules limiting advertising are an unconstitutional violation of the First Amendment. "We live in a nation of laws not edicts," said Daniel L. Jaffe of the Association of National Advertisers. "Advertisers will carry this fight all the way to the Supreme Court."

But medical authorities widely praised Clinton. "It is an excellent step in the direction of improving the public health of all Americans," said Lonnie Bristow, president of the American Medical Association. Sidney Smith, president of the American Heart Association, called the regulations "probably the most important public health move by the government in the last 30 years."

Clinton said his preference was for Congress to pass legislation incorporating the restrictions, and White House Press Secretary Michael McCurry said if that occurred, the rulemaking process would become moot.

Friends of the tobacco industry, a powerful force in Congress both because of its campaign contributions and the jobs generated, reacted with outrage. Sen. Wendall Ford (Dem Kentucky), complained bitterly on the Senate floor minutes after Clinton's announcement that "my farmers lost out to the zealots." He and other tobacco state legislators had heavily lobbied the president to reach a compact with the tobacco industry in lieu of giving the FDA jurisdiction.

Some Republicans complained it was another sign of Democratic passion for overregulation, pointing to rules that would limit some tobacco ads to black and white type with no pictures or one that would set the number of feet from playgrounds billboards with cigarette advertising would have to locate.

Union leaders complained about job loss, citing the FDA's own assessment that the rules, if they succeeed in halving teenage smoking, would reduce tobacco-related jobs by 1,000 per year and cost the industry about $256 million in revenue the first year and as much as $1.2 billion in 10 years. "Regulating away thousands of American jobs is not the way" to reduce teenage smoking, Frank Hurt, president of the union representing tobacco workers said.

But Clinton on Thursday brushed aside complaints — even one about his occasional private puffing on cigars. Clinton emphasized repeatedly that his rules are aimed at young people, not adults, and all but pledged they would go no further.

The tobacco industry questioned Clinton's intentions. "Make no mistake, the real hidden agenda here is prohibition," said Steve Parrish, the Philip Morris spokesman.

Parrish said the manufacturers believe other meaningful steps can and are being taken to prevent minors from smoking. They include: restricting access to cigarette vending machines, proof-of-age requirements and better training of retail sales clerks.

Grand Jury Indicts Oklahoma Bombing Suspects

Pierre Thomas and George Lardner Jr.

A FEDERAL grand jury in Oklahoma City last week accused Timothy James McVeigh and Terry Lynn Nichols of conspiring to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building last April and said it was convinced that others, as yet unidentified, had taken part in the plot.

There was "probable cause" to believe there were more conspirators. The 11-count indictment alleged the defendants plotted "together and with others unknown," but it made no reference to the role these others might have played. Attorney General Janet Reno said at a news conference in Washington that "the investigation is continuing" but she declined to comment on the prospects of identifying and apprehending any co-conspirators.

A friend and onetime Army buddy of the two main defendants, Michael Fortier, was charged in a separate indictment with knowing of their plans and concealing it from law enforcement authorities. He was also charged with lying to the FBI and with involvement in a robbery that helped finance the terrorist attack. One hundred and sixty-eight people were killed and hundreds more injured.

Fortier has struck a deal with Justice Department prosecutors and is expected to testify against McVeigh and Nichols. What he has to say could provide the government with the most direct information to date in a case thus far built largely on circumstantial and forensic evidence.

U.S. Attorney Pat Ryan said in Oklahoma City that prosecutors will seek the death penalty against McVeigh and Nichols. Attorney General Reno, who is supposed to have the final say, announced shortly after the bombing that the death penalty would be sought against those responsible. Defense lawyers protested again last week that Reno had improperly made up her mind in advance and should disqualify herself.

Fortier, who formally pleaded guilty to the charges against him last week, faces a maximum of 23 years in prison and fines totaling $1 million if convicted of the four counts against him.

"What we will do is pursue every lead, based on the evidence," Reno said when asked about additional suspects. "But we have charged everyone involved that we have evidence of at this point."

Asked about the dismembered leg clothed in military garb found deep in the blast site, officials here and in Oklahoma City said investigators are still trying to determine whether it has any bearing on the case. Last week's discovery touched off speculation that it may have belonged to a man some witnesses said they saw with McVeigh on the morning of the April 19 bombing.

Regarding another unsolved mystery, FBI Director Louis J. Freeh, who joined Reno at the news conference, said the bureau has not withdrawn a circular showing a muscular man known as "John Doe 2", whom some witnesses said they saw with McVeigh when he picked up the Ryder rental truck used in the bombing.

"So he (John Doe 2) still is an active suspect?" Freeh was asked.

"I wouldn't characterize him as that," Freeh replied. "My answer is that we haven't withdrawn the circular right now."

The government has withdrawn all charges against Terry Nichols's brother, James. He had been picked up in Michigan shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing and was held for a month in jail as a material witness before being indicted on three explosives charges. In acknowledging the case against James Nichols had fizzled, U.S. Attorney Saul A. Green said in Detroit that "additional investigation failed to corroborate some of the important evidence on which the government initially relied."

The most exhaustive investigations in the nation's history charged McVeigh and Nichols with conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction to kill people and destroy federal property, with using a truck bomb to kill people, and with malicious destruction of property resulting in death. The conspiracy charge lists by name all persons who died inside the Murrah Building in order of their age from 73 to four months.

THE indictment skirts the questions of why and just when McVeigh, 27, and Nichols, 40, decided to blow up the Murrah Building, but it lists the first overt act as having taken place on September 22, 1994, when McVeigh rented a storage unit in Herington, Kansas, in the name of "Shawn Rivers." In a sparse chronology, the indictment tells of how the two defendants allegedly collected materials for the bomb, stored them and eventually assembled the devise.

Defense attorneys for McVeigh and Nichols attacked the prosecution case as a rush to judgment and said they would press to have the trial held outside Oklahoma.

"Terry Nichols is not guilty of the allegations of which he is charged," said Nichols's chief defense lawyer, Michael Tigar. He denounced the government's case as "a warmed-over version of circumstantial evidence" and asserted there was nothing new in it.

Tigar also assailed Fortier. "If you want to know who's confessed to being involved in the bombing, he's (Fortier) right down the street," the defense attorney said. "We do not fear anything Mr. Fortier has to say."

Fortier's lawyer, Michael McGuire, described his client as full of remorse. "There is no expression of grief or words sufficient to describe his anguish over the responsibility he feels for knowing about the plans to bomb the Murrah Building," McGuire said in an interview at his office.

Stephen Jones, McVeigh's chief lawyer, suggested the government's grant of immunity to Fortier's wife, Lori, was a strong factor along with the plea bargain Fortier struck.

"I think any time the government has to give two (potential) codefendants a pretty good deal, there are weaknesses in the case," Jones told reporters. He quickly sought to cloud the prosecution's contentions by issuing a statement about a government informant who late last year warned federal authorities of a developing bomb plot against a federal building in a midwestern city.

According to Jones, the informant described the orchestrators of the plot as a "combination of American citizens and, he thought, either Latin Americans or Arabs. The individuals were identified by Arabic names."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
August 20 1995

Pro-Abortion 'Champion' Changes Sides

Laurie Goodstein

THE WOMAN best known as "Jane Roe," whose struggle to obtain an abortion led to the landmark Roe v. Wade decision, has renounced her role in the abortion rights movement and been baptized a born-again Christian by the leader of the antiabortion group Operation Rescue.

Until this week, Norma McCorvey worked as marketing director at A Choice for Women, a clinic in Dallas, Texas, that performs abortions. She sparred regularly with the Rev. Flip Benham, national director of Operation Rescue, who four months ago moved his group's offices next door to the clinic. She called him "Flipper." He called her "Miss Norma."

Their sparring led to long conversations about McCorvey's spiritual life. Last week it was Benham who yelled "hallelujah" after dunking McCorvey in a baptismal pool.

"I think abortion is wrong," McCorvey told ABC News, which broke the story. "I think what I did was wrong. And I just had to take a pro-life position on choice."

"God gave Norma to us," Benham told ABC News.

McCorvey and Benham had found common ground in pasts of hard living and hard drinking. Benham owned a bar near Disney World in Florida and drank away


McCorvey: born-again Christian

most of what he made, before finding God and seeking ordination in the Free Methodist Church.

McCorvey, 47, is a onetime carnival barker, drug dealer and house cleaner who had a drinking problem. In her 1994 book, "I Am Roe: My Life, Roe v. Wade, and Freedom of Choice," she wrote of being abused at home, raped as a teenager, married at 16 and abused as a wife.

Pregnant for the third time, McCorvey sought an abortion in 1970. She told attorney Sarah Weddington she had been raped. Weddington pressed McCorvey's case all the way to the Supreme Court, and won. But the 1973 verdict came too late for McCorvey, who carried the child to term and gave it up for adoption.

"Jane Roe" later admitted that she lied about being raped. But McCorvey told ABC News she has been haunted all these years by things like empty swings in a playground. "I thought, oh my God, the playgrounds are empty because there's no children because they've all been aborted."

Leaders of the abortion rights movement, including her former attorneys Sarah Weddington and Gloria Allred, played down the impact of McCorvey's apparent turnaround.

"Luckily it doesn't matter what Norma McCorvey's doing today," Weddington said in a telephone interview with The Washington Post. "The fact that she was working in a clinic on Tuesday wasn't any particular help, and the fact that she's working for Operation Rescue on Wednesday doesn't hurt."

Said Allred, "I thank God and pro-choice activists that we live in a country where women like Norma can choose to be pro-abortion or antiabortion according to their own conscience."

Weddington said McCorvey's defection to a movement that has courted her is understandable for a troubled woman who craves acceptance. "She's a person who has in recent years really craved and sought attention, and I think she thought she felt she wasn't given enough attention" by pro-choice advocates. In Flip Benham and Operation Rescue, "she has found someone to do that."

McCorvey's conversion was immediately embraced by the antiabortion movement, already buoyed with a string of recent congressional victories limiting abortions. She was praised as a hero by National Right to Life, Operation Rescue and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' Secretariat for Pro-Life Activities.

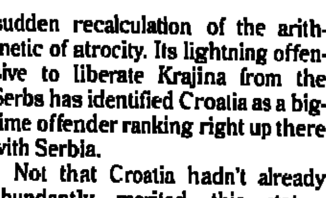
Benham was unavailable for comment because he was holding a news conference in Dallas. McCorvey did not respond to messages left with her roommate.

McCorvey told ABC that her new friends in the antiabortion movement "accept me for who I am, not what I've done or what I can do for them. They genuinely love me."

Based on their interpretation of Scripture, this wing of the antiabortion movement clearly condemns homosexual behavior. Yet for 21 years McCorvey has been in a lesbian relationship with her roommate, Connie Gonzalez, and has not indicated she intends to renounce that part of her past.

"All I know," Gonzalez said last week in a terse telephone interview, "is that Norma has become a Christian."

The Arithmetic of Atrocity In Former Yugoslavia



COMMENT
Stephen S. Rosenfeld

ALL ALONG in the former Yugoslavia, American opinion and policy have rested on a rough arithmetic of atrocity. Favor has been extended or withdrawn according to prevailing notions of the criminal misdeeds inflicted or suffered by each party. Until now the Muslims have been the most favored by this measure, in rhetoric anyway, for their victimization; the Serbs the least favored, for their sins against other former Yugoslavs, with the Croats floating somewhere indistinctly in the middle.

Sentiment is not the most solid basis for policy. It's subjective and emotional and invites inconstancy. In this instance, its role swelled in the absence of a consensus on the

This is not a battle of good and evil but a tribal struggle, a savage one that is not yet over

nature of the American national interest. A policy built on compassion for the Muslims was bound to crash. Not being built on national interest, delivery was bound to be uncertain. It had the further perverse effect of tricking the Muslims into thinking the United States would eventually bail them out — an illusion that has cost them dearly. They lost the war and are left to fight for scraps.

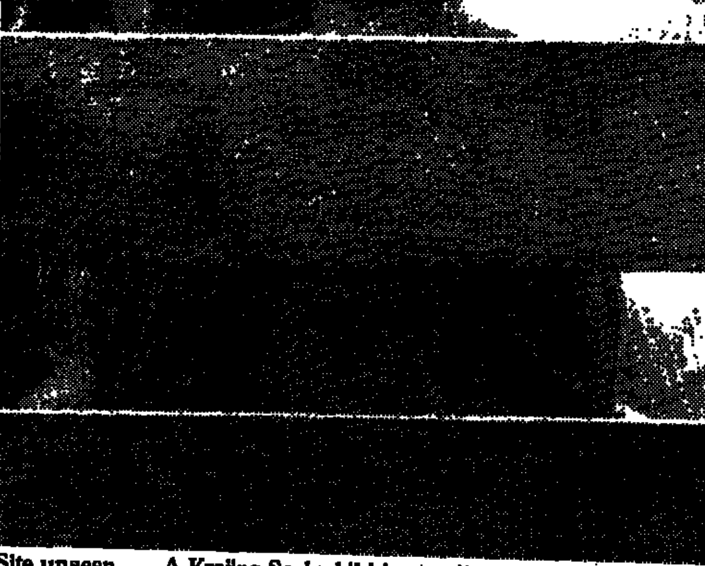
Now, however, there has been a sudden recalculation of the arithmetic of atrocity. Its lightning offensive to liberate Krajina from the Serbs has identified Croatia as a big-time offender ranking right up there with Serbia.

Not that Croatia hadn't already abundantly merited this status. From 1991 it drove more than 350,000 Serbs from their homes. Just last May, it expelled 15,000 Serbs from western Slavonia, like Krajina a Serb-populated territory that had been part of Croatia. With that history, it is not exactly a surprise that it has recently seen to the panicked flight of perhaps 150,000 Serbs (almost all of them) from Krajina, a part of modern Croatia that Serbs had grabbed in 1991 but where Serbs have lived for 500 years.

Serbs have a broad reputation — and they have earned it — for a cruel, murderous dehumanized policy; most recently, Bosnian Serbs now stand accused of mass murder in Srebrenica last month. Croatia deserves such a broad reputation but does not fully have it, at least not yet.

We of the press bear a share of the responsibility for allowing the Croats to avoid the Serbs' high-profile image as massive perpetrators of "ethnic cleansing" and attendant offenses. In one crucial sense, the Croats have gone even further. They have not made rape an instrument of national policy in the Serb style, but they are creating in Krajina a racist, ethnically pure Croatian land; rough and repressive as Serbia is, it is still multi-ethnic.

The American government bears its own share of responsibility for making light of Croatia's crimes. It has done so by way of enlisting Croatia as a strategic counterweight to the Serbs. This effort began last year with American diplomacy tucking Croatia into a "confederation" with the unfortunate Bosnians, and now deepens. Germany bears an even larger share of the blame, I believe, for its incautious embrace of a nation (Catholic Croatia) in conflict with a country of a different tradition (Orthodox Serbia).


Site unseen . . . A Krajina Serb child in a trailer on the refugee road from Croatia to Belgrade
PHOTOGRAPH: IVAN MILUTINOVIC

Since Croatia's offensive and the expulsion of the Krajina Serbs, Serbia has redoubled its longtime insistence that it should be treated not as an aggressor but as a victim state and people. But, of course, Serbia — by its own depredations in and after the breakup of Yugoslavia and by the offenses of the Krajina and Bosnian Serb clients it then created — long ago exhausted its claim on the West's tolerance and understanding.

The Serbs may not have gotten the sympathy they deserved for crimes inflicted on them. But they have gotten the obloquy they deserved for crimes they committed on others. There is some unfairness in how they have been treated, and some fairness. They have a role as defendants in any war-crimes trials to come, and a role as plaintiffs too. They have created refugees and become refugees at the same time.

From this awful tangle of sinned and sinned against, I draw the conclusion that we should be wary of shaping our policy by an artificially simple moralistic standard. Such an effort produces dishonesty and confusion and leads away from the necessary clear view that the main enemy is not one party or another — they are all to be painted in dark colors — but the continuance of the war.

The latest Croatian surge ought to be regarded less as a contribution to a new balance of power that will permit a new negotiation, although perhaps it can be used as that, than as a contribution to a shedding of illusions that the equities can ever be fairly found and applied. This is not a battle of good and evil but a tribal struggle, a savage one that is not yet over.

Jail Inmate Revived for Execution

Serge F. Kovaleski

WHEN Oklahoma state prison officials found death row inmate Robert Brecheen suffering from an overdose of sedatives in his cell, they rushed him to a hospital and had his stomach pumped. Then they carried out his scheduled execution.

After regaining consciousness, Brecheen was whisked back to the State Penitentiary in McAlester in the eastern part of the state, strapped to a gurney and put to death by lethal injection. The execution occurred about two hours late, at 1:55 a.m. on Friday last week.

"I suppose there is an irony to this," said Jim Rabon, spokesman for the Oklahoma Department of Corrections. "We have a responsibility for the health and welfare of our inmates, but we also have a responsibility to uphold the law."

Under state law, Rabon said, once an execution date has been set by the courts, prison officials have 24 hours to carry it out.

Corrections officials said the reason they had to revive Brecheen before executing him was a 1986 U.S. Supreme Court ruling. The decision stipulates that the condemned "has to be aware of his execution and he has to know why he is being executed," said Sandy Howard, an assistant Oklahoma attorney general.

Rabon said the Corrections Department had not yet determined how an inmate on death row was able to obtain enough sedatives to overdose or whether the 40-year-old killer was trying to commit suicide or delay his scheduled midnight execution.

At 7:45 p.m. on Thursday last week, Brecheen lay down to take a nap in his cell. Around 9 p.m., prison guards tried to wake him so he could take a shower, but he did not respond. He was breathing heavily, his pupils were dilated and he drifted in and out of consciousness on the way to the hospital, but he was in no danger of dying then, officials said.

Inside the prison, Hilton Stubbs, the husband of a woman Brecheen murdered in 1983 after being rejected for a $400 loan, waited patiently for the execution. "It wasn't his job to take his life," the Associated Press quoted Hilton Stubbs, 71, as saying.

Brecheen was brought back to the penitentiary at 1:20 a.m., Rabon said. Guards said that in his final statement, which was inaudible because of problems with a microphone, Brecheen made no mention of the overdose.

Authorities said they will question the two defense attorneys and prison guards who came in contact with Brecheen after he was strip-searched and moved to a cell next to the execution chamber. Corrections sources said they believe Brecheen got the drugs from other inmates and concealed them in his mouth or rectum during the strip-search.

Welcome to the State of Paranoia

Liz Spayd looks at why America wallows in Waco and Whitewater

WHAT SHOULD be made of the fact that more than half of all Americans think flying saucers are real? That 49 percent of the public thinks the CIA was involved in the assassination of President Kennedy? Or that 9 percent of the public suspects, despite considerable evidence to the contrary, that the 1969 moon landing was a massive hoax?

Perhaps these are merely random manifestations of the natural human impulse to indulge in the incredible. But more likely, they are evidence of a less benign American compulsion: our willingness to believe in things we cannot prove and to dismiss the establishment wisdom as propaganda designed to fool an unsuspecting public. We have turned suspicious, incredulous, eager to turn the capriciousness of life into something more sinister. When disaster strikes, we look for a government plot. And to no one's surprise, we always find one:

A woman who lost two of her children in the Oklahoma bombing wonders before a CNN news camera whether the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms was a conspirator in the deadly explosion. A White House correspondent, Sara McClendon, tells listeners to a national radio show that there are death squads operating within the Justice Department. A team of lawyers defending O.J. Simpson builds an entire case by suggesting, without substantiation, that their client was the victim of a covert police operation involving fabricated evidence and subversive behavior.

Now, the conspiratorial moment has come again for those who obsess on Waco. And no matter what ultimately comes of the congressional hearings, smart money is betting that plenty of people will find in the proceedings further proof of a government campaign to abolish individual rights and commandeer the guns of innocent citizens.

It could be dismissed as bothersome twaddle if these views were confined to extremists of the right and left. That they have now infected the mainstream of American thought should be reason to worry: The age of distrust is upon us.

As those who measure public opinion find plainly evident, the majority of people no longer have confidence in the government, in science, in our nation's schools, our cops, our courts, our charities or our journalists.

According to polling data of the National Opinion Research Center in Chicago, faith in both Congress and the executive branch is hovering at a 20-year low. Only 12 percent of the public say they have a great deal of confidence in the executive branch, and slightly less than 8 percent characterize their confidence in Congress as substantial.

Trust in other institutions is also on a gradually descending slope: Expressed support for science, medicine, organized religion, labor and education are all near their low point since researchers began their biennial surveys in the mid-1970s. Earlier Lou Harris polls patterned on similar questions suggest the decline may have begun in the 1960s.

"This is one of most dramatic developments in public opinion in the post-World War II era," says Darrell West, a professor of political science at Brown University. "There is a deep-seated distrust, not just of government but of all kinds of institutions that people once had great confidence in."

The sixties offered many opportunities for the controlling ethos to take root: the dark days of John F. Kennedy's assassination, the Watergate break-in, the disillusionment over Vietnam. For today's disenchanted, there is ample evidence of government corruption in the Iran-contra affair of the Reagan administration or, more recently, in the Clintons' follies over Whitewater.

What is discouraging is that most Americans console themselves by seeing in these cases proof that even more sinister evils have yet to be uncovered.

But in their conspiratorial delight, they have overlooked the larger truth: Virtually all of these scandals were exposed by talkative snitches within the system, or through the work of aggressive reporters and prosecutors, or after government hearings into the alleged misdeeds. In other words, the system works. And it works, ironically, because it is founded on the very principle of rational skepticism, with its built-in checks and balances that allow each branch of government to keep an eye on the others. Trust is essential, but it must be held in check by a healthy skepticism.

Even our occasionally insightful House speaker seems to agree: "You can't trust anybody with power," Newt Gingrich told one of his young questioners on MTV recently. "If you loan power to somebody, watch 'em."

Indeed we do. Through this system, we get hearings like those on the Waco siege. While the GOP's more dubious motive is no doubt to thrash the White House for political gain, the valuable side effect of these hearings is a chance to bring government wrongdoing to light so that past mistakes won't be repeated and so that the responsible parties might actually be punished.

ILLUSTRATION: BRIAN CRONIN

Granted, there is no guarantee of official retribution — after all, no US official spent time in jail as a result of Iran-contra but most suffered a considerable political penalty for their involvement.

It might be more seductive to see in Waco or Whitewater or even Watergate evidence of a government overrun with wicked conspirators plotting to snuff out their enemies or annihilate the masses. But the truth, more than likely, is far more mundane: that a few conniving bureaucrats or self-serving politicians let poor judgment get the best of them.

Why, then, is the public so easily enticed down the conspiratorial path? Partly, the mood has been cast by uncertain political and economic times, by high expectations colliding with the reality of declining real wages.

Worsening matters is the fact that many of the institutions we came to depend on have ended up betraying us. Corporations no longer deliver lifetime employment. Charities abscond with our money. Marriages fall apart. And our government does little good in trying to tackle what many people see as our mounting social problems.

At the same time, our world has grown more vast and more complex than most of us find comfortable. Everything is big and elaborate and composed of interconnected parts. Our office typewriter has been replaced by computers that transmit data through some space we cannot see. Our family doctor has been usurped by a bewildering network of medical providers whose elaborate billing system we don't understand. Our money is now dispensed by a machine and our paycheck never comes but seems to appear magically in our bank account . . . Or does it? Just who are all these people, anyway? And how does all this get done? And who is behind all this? As the world gets larger, we get smaller. The institutions become faceless and we become suspicious. And the further people are from the levers of power, the more impoverished, the more likely they are to subscribe to the conspiratorial view.

"Trust?" asks Vanderbilt University philosophy professor John Lachs. "How can you trust in things you cannot see? What we're left with is a fundamental sense that we're not in control of our lives, that we're impotent."

THUS IS created a lush bed for paranoia to seed. It becomes easy, even logical, to imagine that somewhere in that unintelligible void is the opportunity for wickedness to lurk. And when something horrendous or seemingly inexplicable occurs — a famous football hero is accused of murder, innocent children are blown up by a fertilizer bomb — it becomes more comforting to believe that such events result from a carefully designed plot and not the reckless acts of a lone individual. If such events are random, they could happen too easily again, in your city. To you.

People also see a world where getting anything really big accomplished requires an organization, a plan. And so they apply the same reasoning to acts of malfeasance or disaster. And once people have engaged their conspiratorial fantasies, the more difficult, if not impossible, it becomes to prove them wrong. Nothing is random anymore. Everything is part of a menacing plan.

The politics of conspiracy are powerful indeed, and its effects adroitly manipulated. The Nation of Islam has helped convince thousands of blacks that the white government may have planted AIDS in their community as a form of genocide. Twenty-five percent of blacks believe the government ensures narcotics are easily available to poor black neighborhoods, a New York Times-CBS poll found. The NRA taps the conspiracy vein to convince people that their guns might be taken in a violent raid by jackbooted government thugs. Citizen militias insist that United Nations troops are circling around in black helicopters that they intend to use in a mass coup.

For the GOP, stoking conspiracy and distrust — of crime, of welfare freeloaders, of racial preferences — has become an indispensable tool in the marketing of public policy.

As the Republicans have discovered, it is easier to get people to look warily on the government than to believe in it. In an era when the federal budget has reached $1.6 trillion, finding examples of stupidity and corruption becomes a remarkably simple task.

It's also an excellent way to sell newspapers, or nightly "news magazine" shows or movies, the producers of which have discovered that the peddling of conspiracy is as lucrative as it is seductive. From Oliver Stone's box-office hit JFK to Fox Television's wildly popular The X-Files, the appetite for conspiracy seems insatiable. And easily malleable by a media that has changed dramatically in recent years.

"It used to be that the prestige press and three major networks could dictate what got covered," said Brown University's West. "Today, those outlets have to a large degree lost their agenda-setting ability. People are as likely to define journalism as the National Enquirer or Hard Copy as much as they are some prestigious newspaper."

Unfortunately, that leaves the public — already over-anxious and alienated — with a distorted view of reality. No one wants to hear it, but life probably isn't as interesting as some would have us believe. My guess? For every drug-running, document-shredding, would-be assassin in the government, there are probably a thousand inept bureaucrats, one of whose blunders is about to get twisted into America's next big conspiracy.

Shoppers Cross the Dollar Divide

Anne Swardson in Toronto

MONEY always has had the power to move people, but rarely is that power as visible as at the dividing line between the United States and Canada.

Five years ago, when the Canadian dollar was strong and the American dollar was weak, Canadians — most of whom live within 160km of the U.S. border — poured over bridges, through tunnels and past checkpoints into Buffalo, Detroit, Seattle and other border cities to shop. They bought blue jeans to VCRs to Canadian beer, tucking it in their cars and hoping they could sneak their booty past the border without paying duties.

Now, the value of the Canadian dollar has fallen by more than 17 per cent and traffic is going the other way. Canadians are staying home to enjoy shopping bargains, and American tourists and one-day shoppers are tripping across the border to spend money.

The best measure of cross-border shopping is the number of one-day trips. In May 1991, 4.9 million Canadians crossed the border and returned, presumably loaded with goods. By May 1995, that figure fell to 3 million. American trips rose from 1.6 million in May 1991 to 1.9 million in May 1995.

Generally, citizens of each nation can travel freely to the other. Car traffic must pass through border crossings, but travelers normally get little scrutiny from immigration or customs inspectors. Both nations impose duties on goods bought across the border above a certain amount; although a free-trade pact is in effect, it is not fully phased in.

At the Dixie Value Mall outside Toronto, Americans are coming in by the tour-bus load. One of Canada's few discount centers, the 120-store mall has seen a clear increase in U.S. custom.

The losers in the cross-border competition are dozens of malls built recently along the U.S. side of the border, in part to attract Canadian shoppers.

At the Walden Galleria Mall in Cheektowaga, a Buffalo suburb, the proportion of Canadian shoppers is down from 20 percent at its peak to perhaps 14 percent, said manager John Percy. However, he said, total sales have risen because of strenuous efforts to promote it among Buffalo residents. Therein, he and others suggested, lies a key distinction between the Canadian and American retail scenes.

When the exchange rate favored Canadian shoppers coming to the United States, Percy said, "We found every newspaper and radio station in Canada we could to promote our mall."

Now that dollar values push people the other way, Percy said, he sees little advertising by Canadian shopping outlets in Buffalo newspapers.

Retail analyst Winter said: "Canadians are not as aggressively commercial as the American culture."

Bible Babble

Bill Broadway

THE ASHES OF WACO
An Investigation
By Dick J. Reavis
Simon & Schuster. 320pp. $24

WHY WACO?
Cults and the Battle for Religious Freedom in America
By James D. Tabor and Eugene V. Gallagher
University of California Press. 255pp. $24.95



DAVID KORESH liked The Lawnmower Man so much that he showed the 1992 film to his Branch Davidian followers as an analogy to his own spiritual ascendancy. Based on a short story by Stephen King, the techno-thriller tells of a retarded church yardman named Jobe who blossoms into a megagenius under the tutelage of a Dr. Angelo Angelo, who, in search of the perfect human, uses virtual reality computers and mind-altering drugs to boost Jobe's brain power. But the experiments get out of hand.

"I saw God. I touched God," exults the yardman, who then announces that his next step is to "become pure energy" and "project myself into the mainframe computer." From there he will invade the world's circuitry and "by the year 2001 there won't be a person who isn't hooked into it and hooked into me." Angelo tries to stop this apparent madness by setting time bombs around the laboratory as Jobe disappears into the computer. The ensuing blasts engulf the vast laboratory in flames and Angelo barely escapes.

Dick J. Reavis recounts Koresh's private screening in his book **The Ashes of Waco: An Investigation**, a quasi-exposé of the government's role in the 51-day siege that ended in fire on April 19, 1993. A former Dallas Observer reporter and Texas Monthly editor, Reavis earned his place as the opening panelist at the House hearings on Waco, with two years of research into the government's role in the tragedy. A later panelist, James D. Tabor of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, was one of two theologians to get close to Koresh during the siege and is co-author of **Why Waco? Cults and the Battle for Religious Freedom in America**.

According to Reavis, whose book was rushed into print to coincide with the hearings, surviving Davidians who were present at the screening of the film (he gives no date) said that Koresh saw Jobe's intellectual progression as an allegory of his spiritual awakening. This revelatory event occurred in 1985 at Mt. Zion in Israel, where Koresh believed a Christlike angel would lead 144,000 pure believers to victory over evil at the End Time. In his vision, Koresh, then known as Vernon Howell, met seven angelic beings and rode with them on a celestial flying saucer past the constellation Orion to the City of God. In his interpretation of the film, Koresh is Jobe, the lab is the spiritual transporter (Merkabah) and God is the central computer.

Reavis recalls the incident not to make fun of Koresh but to underscore the different planes of thought on which FBI negotiators and Koresh and right-hand man Steve Schneider were working. Like Tabor and Eugene V. Gallagher, co-authors of Why Waco?, Reavis believes that the deaths of more than 80 people could have been averted if the federal government had sought — and heeded — the advice of religious experts on apocalyptic thinking and behavior.

But there's far more to Reavis's narrative, a loosely woven — and often loosely documented — account of events from February 28, 1993, through the trial of 11 Branch Davidians a year later. Thousands of details, many quirky and insightful, others ridiculous ("she was still shapely at 46, despite having given birth to seven children"), portray life inside the compound and offer a Davidian's perspective of the attacks by federal agents. Others, from autopsy reports and court records, suggest strongly the government's culpability.

According to Reavis's book, military helicopters, which should not have been involved in the first place, did fire on the compound in the first attack on Mt. Carmel, killing three Davidians; agents tampered with bodies in an effort to reduce the number of deaths for which they were responsible; and during the fatal April 19 assault, they deliberately destroyed the right side of the double front door, which had bullet holes that would have proved ATF agents shot first in February.

While Reavis seeks to unveil the government's alleged stupidity and duplicity in the Waco episode, Tabor and Gallagher blame the "anticultists" and "cultbusters" who have created an environment of fear about unorthodox religious groups that threatens religious freedom in America.

It's common for disaffected members of religious groups to alert authorities to their former colleagues' "improprieties," the authors point out, and ex-Davidians played the role of investigative catalyst superbly in this case. Consciously or not, former members hit on the "negative cult stereotypes" that proved to be incredibly effective: that Koresh forced people into submission, that he was beating and sexually abusing children, that he was a madman obsessed with guns, that the sanitary conditions were horrible. The local police authorities, then the Treasury Department, then the media, and finally the Justice Department and Attorney General Janet Reno all bought into the stereotypes, the authors charge.

All of these used "cult" to describe the group — with all the Charles Manson overlay the word implies — although it has been shown that the children in Mt. Carmel were loved and well cared for; the charges of a drug lab and drug use raised by authorities were unsubstantiated; and most important to the authors, several members who had rejected Koresh's claims on scriptural interpretation had been allowed to leave freely.

If Koresh was anything, according to Tabor and Gallagher, he was confused. Things were not happening the way he had expected them to, from his interpretations of biblical texts. Koresh was not stalling, as the FBI charged, but waiting for a new sign from God. They say a surrender could have been negotiated.

In their evenhandedness and perhaps their zeal to allow Koresh respectability, the authors downplay the weirdness of Koresh's vision — what Koresh himself called "the bizarrity of my presence." They say nothing of Koresh's belief that he had "God's genes" and that his children could not leave Mt. Carmel because he wanted to make sure that "no one will get my DNA."

Beginning on March 7, Tabor and his friend Phillip Arnold, the director of a religious studies institute in Houston who testified at the hearings, communicated with Koresh through audiotapes and radio broadcasts, offering their own interpretations of Revelation. Koresh may not have agreed with their analysis, but he appreciated their effort to talk about theology, what to him was a matter of "life and death." On April 14, after writing that he had received his long-awaited "word from God," Koresh said he would come out once he had completed a written interpretation of the seven seals. He requested that his manuscript be given to Tabor and Arnold who would disseminate it to other scholars and theologians.

"Unfortunately these attempts came too late," the authors say rhetorically. When the tanks began ramming the buildings and inserting a volatile form of tear gas commonly called CS gas, Koresh was still working on seal number two. What he did complete was a "substantial piece of work," the scholars state. It has been published for the first time in Why Waco?, followed by Tabor and Arnold's commentary on Koresh's comments.

The major irony of Waco surely must be this: that what Koresh wanted all along — for the world to hear his biblical interpretations (what federal agents called "Bible babble") — is being fulfilled through these two books and other works that are sure to follow.

Seeking Salvation in Fifties Memphis

Gabrielle Burton

MOLLY FLANAGAN AND THE HOLY GHOST
By Margaret Skinner
Algonquin. 242pp. $17.95

TWELVE-YEAR-OLD Molly Flanagan has a wandering eye, but you'd never call it lazy. Behind her blue-framed glasses, her vision works overtime: Single objects double, and incompatible people superimpose like a double exposure. Molly's peculiar sight mirrors her vision of the world where everything seems to have at least two warring sides.

Molly's tight-lipped, austere mother, Elizabeth, converted to Catholicism to marry her loquacious Irish father, Jim Flanagan, but theirs remains a mixed marriage. Fifteen-year-old brother Nat, thought perfect by all, curses constantly. Molly's maternal grandmother, Willie, a Methodist turned Evangelical Baptist, and her Catholic godmother, Byrd, relentlessly vie for her soul.

Born on Sunday, Molly is dogged all week long by religion. The Flanagans' maid, Lena, an African Methodist Episcopalian, doesn't "talk Bible much, just draws herself and Molly": On butcher paper, in murals covering the walls of her tiny home, Lena and Molly lead donkeys to wells, feed camels, swab Noah's deck.

Margaret Skinner's second novel is set in Memphis in the Eisenhower fifties, when everybody believes in the melting pot and everybody knows their place. There are Catholics and non-Catholics. Negroes sit in the back of the bus. "There was some rule about this," Molly vaguely registers. Molly's mother has a "normal mistrust of Italians" but makes an exception for Molly's friend Charlotte. People eat their own kind of food and take their religious proscriptions seriously. For a Catholic to attend another's church is a mortal sin, your eternal soul at stake, especially when the devil enticing you to attend the Baptist service is cunningly disguised as your own formidable grandmother.

Molly's "Baptist eye and her Catholic eye often go separate ways," as Willie and Byrd deluge her with dogma at the Saturday piano lessons and ritual overnight visits. Bible stories versus nuns' purity tales. "The Old Rugged Cross" versus "Ave Maria." White King James bibles versus black Douay Rheims. "Catholics said the same shapeless prayer over and over again, even when certain dinners such as fried chicken or barbecue deserved greater thanks. Protestants invented new ways of saying grace over each and every meal no matter what was served."

Before television, people sat on their front porches and studied their neighbors anthropologically. Molly, with her superior peripheral vision, sees them all when they aren't looking but never lets on. In a six-month period in 1955, when one day simply seems to follow another in the long waiting period of growing up, a great deal happens. Molly's mother miscarries the baby she hasn't told Molly she was carrying. The neighbor bears a Downs syndrome baby. Molly discovers that the girl across the street is being abused by her brother and that her own grandfather committed suicide. A python escapes from the zoo. Her father has a near-fatal accident. She turns 12. A dreaded piano recital becomes a triumph.

The same things happened in the fifties that happen today, most of it behind closed doors. Parents didn't explain their thoughts and behavior to children. Before Oprahvision, most children, like Molly, got their worldly knowledge from books and other children. They overheard adult whispers, deciphered clenched lips and quick glances, felt racial tensions. Sin and sex were in the air.

After God and Jesus fail her, Molly switches her allegiance to the Holy Ghost, who rids her room of snakes and sends her a piano. "The Holy Ghost didn't promise happiness . . . Instead [it] was there inside you opening up small windows so you could understand what was going on . . . or however much of it you could take in at one time."

A slim book — sometimes a bit too thin, the prose competent but pedestrian — Molly Flanagan And The Holy Ghost might have been expanded or trimmed into a jewel of a novella. Some characters, especially Molly's mother, are seen as a 12-year-old might see them, but the reader wishes for fuller development. Still, the novel is a valuable period piece, and Skinner nails down the vanished fifties atmosphere when children walked to movies and the neighborhood was their extended family.

An operation eventually corrects Molly's eyes, and ordinary things come into focus. Even though she's still surrounded with mysteries and secrets, you believe that, with her willingness to look at things straight on, the help of the Holy Ghost and her new tortoise-shell glasses, Molly Flanagan will continue to grow in clarity and grace.



Programme Representative, Armenia

Salary: £16,509 p.a. (UK non-taxable) plus Station Allowance and Accommodation

Based in Yerevan 12 month contract

Oxfam is looking for a Representative to manage Oxfam's programme in Armenia. The main activities of the programme are water, sanitation and health education, purchase of local materials for distribution to displaced people, production of woollen tops and income generation through a knitting programme and development of local NGOS, especially those concerned with disability and women's issues.
The Representative will have at least 2 years' relevant overseas experience, preferably in both relief and development and with direct experience of income generation, disability and gender issues; experience of managing staff and resources with ability to draw up and monitor complex budgets; a mature understanding of community development and NGO issues; an active commitment to promoting gender equity and strategic analysis skills.
Please quote ref: OS/PR/ARM/GW.

Construction Engineer, Georgia

Salary: £14,870 p.a. (UK non-taxable) plus Station Allowance and Accommodation

Based in Zugdidi 12 month contract

Oxfam is recruiting a construction engineer to work as a member of our environmental health team in Georgia which renovates buildings in which people displaced by conflict live, by improving the structure, water supplies and sanitation.
The engineer will consult and involve the displaced people and oversee the environmental improvement work through the local team and contractors. She or he will have a minimum of 3 years' relevant experience, including construction engineering, with an understanding of gender and community development issues and the participatory process. They will have at least one year's experience of working outside their own home country and a willingness to work in arduous and difficult circumstances.
Please quote ref: OS/CE/GEO/GW.

For further details on either of the above posts please send a large stamped addressed envelope to the Overseas Personnel & Development Department, Oxfam, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7DZ. Please quote the appropriate reference number when applying. Closing date: 8 September 1995. Interviews: mid September 1995.

Oxfam works with poor people in their struggle against hunger, disease, exploitation and poverty in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East through relief, development, research and public education.



Oxfam UK/Ireland is striving to be an equal opportunity employer

Sultan Qaboos University - Sultanate of Oman

Department of Mathematics and Statistics, College of Science

Sultan Qaboos University, the National University of the Sultanate of Oman, urgently invites applications for the Department of Mathematics and Statistics in the Fields of Mathematics (Applied and Pure) and Statistics. Appointments are expected to start in September 1996. At present vacancies exist for lecturers (with Ph.d. a minimum requirement) and Assistant Professors (with a minimum of four years post-Ph.D. teaching experience). Preference will be given to applicants conducting research in the modelling of geophysical and environmental problems, but applications in other fields may also be considered.

The Department of Mathematics and Statistics has well established degree programmes in Mathematics and Statistics and is responsible for providing service course to the various colleges of the University.

Apart from a very attractive tax free base salary, the University offers free furnished accommodation, two years renewable employment contract with end of service gratuity, annual leave with return air tickets, free medical treatment in Government Hospitals. There is no tax in the Sultanate.

Interested candidates are required to submit their full C.V., along with copies of academic and experience certificates, quoting our Ref:ADV/SCI/06/95,to:

**The Director, Personnel Affairs,
Sultan Qaboos University,
P.O.Box 50, Al-Khod - 123,
Sultanate of Oman**

African Books Collective Ltd.
TRAINEE MANAGER

African Books Collective is a major self-help initiative by a group of African publishers to promote and distribute the books of 48 African publishers from 14 countries, to markets in Europe, North America and elsewhere. ABC is a non—profit making company owned by the African founder publishers, and is financially supported by international donor organizations seeking to strengthen indigenous African publishing. A challenging new post of Trainee Manager has now been created, carrying the eventual prospect of promotion to General Manager, and is a unique career opportunity for the right candidate, in the age range 25-35. A two-year period of organized training is integral to the post. Starting date is October/November 1995.

The position calls for: (i) a pro-active, creative and energetic person with good communication skills, and an analytical mind. Preferably a professional background in book marketing and promotion, the retail book trade, or the library professions. Candidates outside the book professions will be considered, provided they have the requisite skills. (ii) Good knowledge and skills in financial and administrative systems and practice, or general management skills and experience. (iii) Computer literacy, with familiarity with some of the most commonly used software programmes, and enthusiasm to develop computer skills. (iv) A demonstrable concern/affinity with Africa and its peoples. An academic degree in an African studies area, or English, will be considered an advantage, but is not essential.

Starting salary £18,500-£20,000, increasing to £23,500 over two years. ABC is an equal opportunities employer. Closing date: 31 August. Applications in writing with full CV, to: Mary Jay, African Books Collective Ltd, **27 Park End Street, Oxford OX1 1HU.**
Tel: +44-(0)1865-726686 Fax: +44-(0)1865-793298.

CLASSIFIED

CAR HIRE

SERVICES

BUSINESS TO BUSINESS

PERSONAL

LONDON HOTELS & APARTMENTS

A nomad in Stroud

Angella Johnson

WARIS DIRIE is a woman torn between the primal urges of her nomadic Somalian roots and the glamorous high life she lives as one of the world's top models. "I often feel a desperate urge to pee outside in the open," she confesses during a walk down the country lane that runs alongside her home near Stroud. Which is probably why she is holed up in a tiny, ramshackle cottage in the heart of Gloucester, surrounded by miles of farmland. Princess Anne often zooms by in her Range Rover on her way to Gatcombe Park. "One day she might just catch a glimpse of my black ass in the bushes," Dirie giggles.

She is breathtakingly beautiful. Her skin glows like molasses and her almond eyes reveal a mischievous streak. Dirie has come a long way from the days when she looked after her father's camels, slept under tents and played with other children of her tribe. Her family were nomads who had little connection with the 20th century, but all that changed for Dirie when, at 13, her father decided to marry her off to a man 50 years her senior. She fled and walked barefoot through the desert. "I can't say how long I travelled — it could have been weeks — but I was determined to escape the life of servitude my mother and her mother before her had endured."

She ended up in the war-torn capital of Mogadishu. "I had never seen so many people and buildings. It was like being on another planet. I had no idea such things existed."

She moved in with an aunt and in the months that followed, she found work carrying bricks on a building site and doing whatever odd jobs she could find. "I looked like a boy and no one bothered me."

Her life changed when an uncle, who was then Somalia's ambassador to London, came to visit. He wanted a young girl to work for him. "He had someone else in mind, but I persuaded him to take me," Dirie says.

It was while taking some of the embassy children to school that Dirie was approached by fashion photographer Michael Goss, who had a daughter at the same school. He was attracted by her profile and persuaded her to pose for him. "I was very keen," Dirie recalls. "I had heard about Iman back in Somalia; she was famous there for having become a supermodel, so I thought maybe I could do it too."

She went on to be photographed by Terence Donovan for Pirelli, appeared as a Bond girl in The Living Daylights and signed a lucrative modelling contract for Revlon.

Her career stalled when the British government refused to give her a passport. "I had to stay put for a couple of years sorting it all out and of course in Britain it is virtually impossible to get modelling jobs if you're black."

Earlier this year, Dirie found herself back in her homeland for the first time, as part of a BBC documentary team, who were making a film about her: "I want to make a difference to my people in Somalia. Especially the young women. To show them that they don't have to accept being treated like chattel, to be bought and sold."

"I was cut down there, you know," she says, matter-of-factly. "They call it female circumcision, but it's a barbaric practice. I would like to do something to see it stopped."

It is hard to see the coquettish Dirie as a flag-flying feminist. She leans forward and says earnestly: "They take away a woman's ability to enjoy sex, so she can be kept under control. Can you believe that?"

She says she was raped as a child of about five by a family friend. "I was seven when they cut me. It was tradition, you see. My mother told me to be a good girl and not to struggle as she sat behind me and held my arms."

She considers herself lucky to have escaped the kind of bondage destined for many young women in her country. "It's not a pretty subject to talk about, but if it highlights the issue, then I'm going to mention it every chance I get."

Waris Dirie: 'I was determined to escape' PHOTOGRAPH: REGAN CAMERON

Letter from Ougadougou Hamish Lindsay

On the open road

I STROLL out past the veranda, peering through the greenery, looking for Karim. I catch his half-open eyes as he rises from a chair in the garden opposite, sensing I am there.

"*Ça va Karim?*"

"*Oui, ça va.*"

"Any chance of fetching me a taxi? I'm off to the bus station."

"Yeah, no problem", he smiles. Karim is my neighbour's "boy", in that he lives there and does all the odd jobs. He knows that I give him a hundred odd francs to do something, so he's happy. I walk back to my door and lock it, watching the pale blue of Karim's bike through the hedge. I take a seat and see that it is 6.40. The bus is at seven so I should get going. I head out on to the dirt track road, pulling on a small black rucksack.

Passing the pen, I give a goodbye grunt to the pigs. The sun is up and already hot. It hasn't rained for a few days and I wonder if they're ever going to fix the road.

I'm feeling good in spite of only a few hours' sleep. It's 10 to and I'm wondering where Karim's taxi is. Pace quickening, I round a bend and spot the pale green Renault 4, Karim smiling from within. His bike is sticking out the back and it looks like they spent five minutes strapping it in. Slightly impatient now, I slip the boy a few coins and climb into the taxi.

"*Bon voyage*," he says, lazily mounting his bike, still smiling.

The driver weaves around some giant potholes, moaning at the state of the road and worrying about his already dodgy suspension. The conversation turns to the weather. The streets are already busy, sellers setting up stalls, mechanics fixing bikes, people going to work on their mopeds.

The bus station is the usual mayhem of sellers, travellers and workers shouting commands in every direction. It's gone seven, but there is no sense of urgency. I relax and ask for the bus to Bobo. I am shown a disappointingly small minibus with an alarmingly large crowd waiting around it. There seem to be many families camping out in the bus station, with millet stem mats strewn around and bags everywhere. Some are asleep, some are making tea and chatting, and some are just lying around in silence.

A heavily bejewelled woman, whom I bought my ticket from the day before, raises herself to the first step of the bus and begins to read out a list of names. The roof of the bus is still being loaded with various bags, mopeds and a couple of goats, some boys up top being shouted at by a couple of fat, colourful women, worrying about their oranges. My gaze is interrupted by a cry of "Monsieur Ameesh" and I push on to the bus, relieved to see a few empty seats. I take the first, noticing, as someone squeezes in beside me, that it is over the wheel and that the window can't be opened.

Turning round, I bid *bonjour* to a large, thickset man with a deep, rich voice that goes perfectly with his features. I sit down, knees at chin level, and wedge my rucksack into my groin, the only available spot. I locate the source of a putrid smell as the breath of my neighbour and abandon any ideas of small talk. Instead, I gaze out of the window, thinking about anything but the next six hours, the fact that I am embarking on a 1,500km journey to Banjul in Gambia to meet my parents.

The bus takes off and glides effortlessly through the streets, managing to avoid people, bikes, animals and potholes. We lurch on to the main road to Bobo, Burkina Faso's second town, 300km away, past the school I teach in and one of the reservoirs, out on to open road.

A Country Diary

Jeremy Smith

ARMIDALE, New South Wales: The suspected presence of a tiger-snake certainly adds piquancy to an otherwise tedious bit of toil. Tiger-snakes are not to be taken lightly. They are highly venomous, lightning-fast, and strike with little provocation when they feel threatened — as well this one might during the progressive demolition of its home.

It had been seen retreating to the tangle beside the clothes-line on more than one occasion. Members of the household in the course of their regular duties were becoming nervous. Something had to be done.

What had to be cleared was just a little patch of English ivy, a plant well behaved and warmly regarded in its native land. It formed the neat ground cover beside Californian freeways and so inspired this Australian planting. But here it developed into a green monster. At its centre the patch was nearly a metre deep, a dense, stubborn network of rooted, resilient ropes. It had completely swallowed up the pile of rocks in which the dread reptile was believed to lurk.

In the event, the stout stick left handily by to deal with the serpent was not required. I encountered many small frogs, a couple of lizards, an old rat's nest liberally decorated with halved peach-stones, and lots of nameless invertebrates. Our resident family of fairy-wrens hopped jauntily and delightfully around my feet as they pounced eagerly on revealed grubs, worms and spiders. There were also many clothes-pegs and even a piece of decomposing underwear (is there no end to ivy's voracious appetite?), but thankfully, no snake.

Perhaps it had simply slipped away. It had plenty of opportunity, because this was no swift, incisive search-and-destroy mission. The steady slog with secateurs, shears, saw, crowbar and rake took, off and on, three weekends! Such are the wages of sin, for my former indolence has come back to haunt me. When I established the garden nearly 20 years ago, I deliberately selected plants which would need no tedious and time-consuming mollycoddling. Plants like that do not give in easily.

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

AS CHILDREN growing up in the 1950s we always touched our collars for luck when an ambulance passed. Is this only an East Enders' custom, and how did it originate?

THE ORIGIN of this is in the phrase: "Touch your collar, never swallow, never catch fever." Prior to the second world war, bacterial infections like scarlet fever and diphtheria were killers and the normal response was to wrap the patient in a bright red blanket and take them in a special ambulance to the nearest fever hospital. These infections are airborne, so there is an element of good sense in not swallowing. — *Robert Wilkinson, Leytonstone, London*

WHAT IS the origin of the term "frogmarch"?

MY GRANDFATHER once told me that during the Napoleonic wars, one of the outstanding French regiments was Les Grenouilles d'Hier Guards, whose prime duty was to protect the emperor. To do so, they were trained to face outward, bayonets fixed, and walk backwards, watching for trouble makers. Their training proved invaluable during the retreat from Moscow, when they were given the duty of rearguard, facing the enemy whilst marching backwards all the way to Paris. This gave rise to the annual celebration of "La Marche des Grenouilles" (The Frog-March) each midwinter's day, at noon, when the regiment paraded backwards from L'Arc to Napoleon's Tomb, in Paris. — *Alex Maton, Kingston, Ontario, Canada*

Any Answers?

ARE the varieties of snail commonly found in British gardens suitable for human consumption? — *John Seitz, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada*

I'VE heard of a South American Indian tribe which will not make a major decision until its effect on the next seven generations has been discussed. Does anybody know which tribe and where? — *Vanessa Harlow, Clapham, London*

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ

Wetting the appetite

CINEMA
Derek Malcolm

HAD **Waterworld** been made for $60 million or so, nobody would have grumbled. But to achieve the astounding figure of around $200 million with a movie that looks much like a waterborne Mad Max seems like a profligacy record.

The main problem lies, as it does with most large-scale epics, with Peter Rader and David Twohy's workaday screenplay which, though it does try to do more than the script of Mad Max, relapses too frequently into the basics with which we are all too familiar.

This is especially true when it comes to the lines given to Dennis Hopper's villain. Aside from a few minor witticisms, he is generally forced to relapse into the kind of stock villain he's done at least 50 times before. He plays the Deacon, the ruthless head of the Smokers (this film emanates from LA, where such a title betokens mankind's worst enemy). They are bands of marauders who roam Waterworld, where the polar icecaps have melted and the residue of humanity can only dream of a mythical place called Dryland. .

On this watery surface travel the Atollers, chugging along on man-made islands. The Mariner (Kevin Costner) is the lone Atoller (Ayatollah?) who is up to everything the Smokers throw at him. But he's discomfited by the sudden appearance of Jeanne Tripplehorn and Tina Majorino, a mother and daughter who make their escape with him from a refuelling outpost the Deacon has explosively dispensed with.

Here the film finds what's left of its heart after the rum-ti-tum of the action sequences. The Mariner resents having to deal with this impossibly female pair but gradually gets to rather like it.

But, despite these less noisy moments and an underwater grappling that looks like a useful variant for bored married couples, it's the action sequences that count and they are often impressive.

Through all this, both Costner and Tripplehorn maintain the kind of stoic calm that passes for acting under such conditions and in costumes that can't have made it easy to manoeuvre more than a bottom lip.

But Costner is too much of a cold fish as an actor. He's capable enough, and clearly works very hard. But he hasn't the charm and lightness of touch of Mel nor the dominating presence of the Schwarzeneggers and Stallones of this world.

Waterworld, however, is not the disaster everyone expected, even if its failures equal its virtues and sometimes obscure them. The fact that it cost as much as it did is ludicrous. But that's really none of our business.

There are a fair number of intriguing debuts from American directors. The problem comes later when Hollywood picks them up and dusts them down. It clearly hasn't happened yet for David O Russell, writer-director of **Spanking the Monkey**, which is not about masturbation as the title implies but is even more daring. It treats the delicate subject of incest as a kind of whey-faced cultural comedy.

Our hero, if that is what he is, is an embyro medical student who, prevented by his philandering travelling-salesman father from taking up an internship, goes bananas back in his small-town home. There he is instructed by his anxious but fundamentally uncaring father to look after mother, neurotically encased in plaster after a bungled suicide attempt. He has to cook for her, look after the dog and pour her copious healing draughts of vodka.

He also has to wash her and apply lotion to sore thighs, which is where the trouble comes in, especially when mother finds out he's trying to date a local girl but making enough of a mess of it to have her psychiatrist father howling on the doorstep.

If sex is on his mind, it's because he's bored and, besides, the dog interrupts him masturbating in the bathroom by pawing at the door and the girl doesn't like him attempting to have his nasty way with her, pronouncing him gay when he does nothing, and a rapist when he does.

ALTOGETHER, things are set up for a spot of incest, which duly occurs. If this sounds suspiciously puerile, you have reckoned without Russell's cleverly depreciative screenplay which suggests that, in a world as askew as this, almost anything might happen to the one potentially sane member of the family. It's a natural progression for this dysfunctional family within a world which scarcely operates much better.

To say the film was not serious, however, would be to misjudge it. But what it is serious about it is not the fact of incest itself but the shifting power relationships that bring it about. Luckily, too, Jeremy Davies as the unfortunate Ray, and Alberta Watson and Benjamin Hendrickson as his parents are well up to their parts, as is Carla Gallo as his would-be girlfriend. While no one would suggest that the film reaches huge heights, it has an intelligence and perception that makes what has passed for summer entertainment over the past few weeks look decidedly hollow.

Milcho Manchevski's **Before the Rain** won prizes at Venice last year and also induced some hostility. Manchevski is a Macedonian, and his subject, told in three interlinking stories, is the human mess made by the Balkan war.

The fact that Manchevski works in America and sometimes on music videos means that the film has a transatlantic sheen on it that may render it suspicious to some. But this debut is a European venture and tries very hard for the kind of forceful drama that is at any rate sincere. It also looks wonderful.

The first story has a young Macedonian monk hiding an Albanian girl, unjustly accused of murder, within his monastery, thus endangering his order. The second, set in London, has Katrin Cartlidge as the married picture editor of a photo agency drawn into an affair with a cameraman (Rade Serbedzija). And the third has the same cameraman moving back to his village in Macedonia to find his Albanian neighbours are now his enemies, even the woman with whom he was once in love.

Though the central section of the film, which ends with the kind of bloodbath generally more familiar in Hollywood action movies, doesn't work at all, the other two tales, superbly shot and illustrated with Macedonian music that's fascinating in itself, have an undeniable strength.

At least this is a European film about something relevant and impressively mounted in terms that anyone could understand. It is simple, direct and passionate, even if less than weighty. And it could hardly be more relevant right now.

Promenade to the music of time

CENTENARY PROM
Edward Greenfield

ANYONE **who says the Proms are not what they were had ample proof last week in a nostalgic look back to the very first Prom of all — 100 years to the day since Sir Henry Wood inaugurated the great series.**

At least the choice of orchestra could not have been more apt, the New Queen's Hall Orchestra, Sir Henry's own, lovingly revived several years ago using the instruments of 1900, narrow-bore brass, wooden flutes, French bassoons and gut strings.

With Barry Wordsworth conducting, the sound was a delight. True, Sir Henry might have objected that the strings were using too much *portamento*, most of all in the first encore, Elgar's Salut d'Amour, which was enough to make you seasick. Otherwise the ensemble was even mellower in London's Royal Albert Hall than it has been in the more modern halls.

As to the main programme, it started with the two items that opened the very first Prom on August 10, 1895: Wagner's Rienzi Overture and the Prologue to I Pagliacci by Leoncavallo. If nowadays they both have an old-fashioned ring, hardly heard at the Proms for years, one has to remember that by the standards of 1895 they were both adventurous.

It was as well that after that only fleeting attempts were made to follow the original programme, dotted as it was with long forgotten ballads and solos for cornet and bassoon.

Instead, Sir John Drummond opted to include the first Prom concerto — Mendelssohn's in G minor for piano, and the first symphony — Schubert's Unfinished, both from later that first season. The Mendelssohn may have reflected Victorian taste, and in this performance Howard Shelley matched the orchestra not only in his reading, both crisp and poetic, but in playing a 1920 Chappell piano of the kind regularly used at Proms in the early years.

Following modern practice, Barry Wordsworth observed the long exposition repeat in the first movement, and rightly so, for here even more than in the other works, the period instruments gave the work a mellow glow, with contrasts of woodwind timbre gently but clearly underlined.

Donald Maxwell, earlier resonant in the Pagliacci Prologue, returned to sing Figaro's Largo al factotum from Rossini's Barber Of Seville, entering as if in the opera, to wild applause. Thomas's Mignon Overture and a suite from Bizet's Carmen, also from the first programme, represented the French repertory, but then at the very end, after the Elgar encore, came a magnificent outburst on the Hungarian March from Berlioz's Damnation Of Faust, a marvellous rabble-rouser to please everyone both then and now. Some things, thank goodness, never change.

School for dead wives

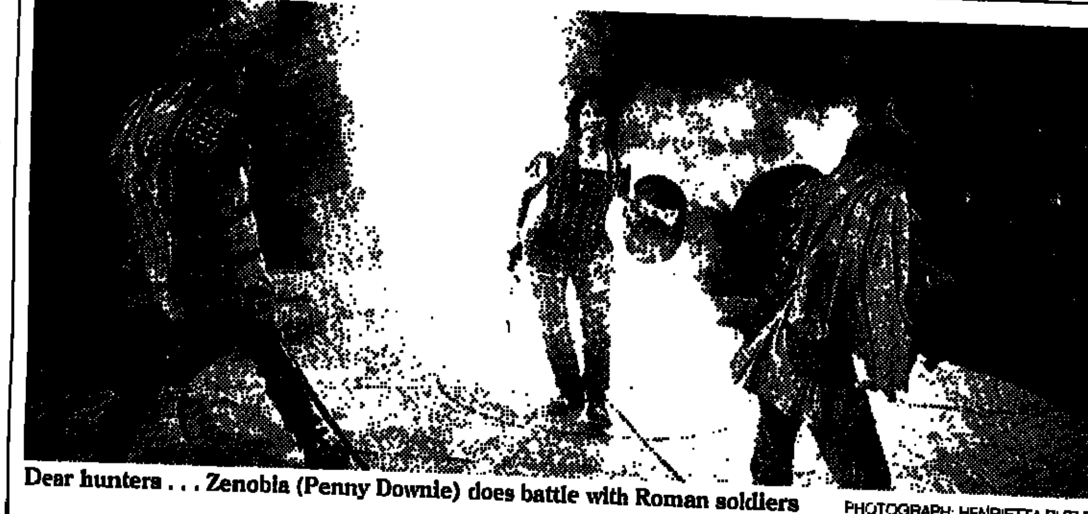
THEATRE
Michael Billington

LIKE a manic conjurer, Alan Ayckbourn keeps pulling ever more rabbits out of the hat. And **Communicating Doors**, his 46th play, manages to take us by surprise by being a mixture of pastiche Psycho and time-warp comedy that optimistically suggests that, if only we could foresee the future, we could change it.

Here, Ayckbourn is at his most devilishly ingenious. He sets the action in a London hotel suite in three different periods. We start in 2014 with Poopay, a leather-clad dominatrix, witnessing a confession by a dying crook that he has sanctioned the murder of his two former wives.

Poopay discovers that the suite's communicating doors lead her into a time-warp that takes her back to 1994 — the night of the death of wife number two, Ruella. Can Ruella, forewarned by Poopay, avoid being pushed out of the sixth-floor hotel window? And can both women, magicked back to 1974, convince the honeymooning first wife, Jessica, that she risks death by drowning in the Aegean?

Ayckbourn experiments wittily with the theatrical possibilities of time. But he does so to humane purpose. Just as Hamlet talks of that fate which "haply foreknowing may avoid", so Ayckbourn argues that we all have the possibility of changing our own destiny.


Dear hunters . . . Zenobia (Penny Downie) does battle with Roman soldiers PHOTOGRAPH: HENRIETTA BUTLER

This makes the piece sound much more solemn than it is. A lot of the pleasure lies in watching Ayckbourn manipulating the conventions of the Priestleyesque time-play and also spoofing the tricks of cinematic Grand Guignol.

As always, he directs his own work with great *élan*. The acting is also impeccable. Julia McKenzie endows Ruella with just the right mix of girl-guide brio and wan ruefulness as she informs us that "No woman in her right mind wants to re-live her honeymoon". Adie Allen as the dominatrix suggests that, underneath the leather gear, there is an orphan yearning to be mothered.

The men, of course, are either evil or ineffectual, but Ken Bones plays the killer like a mix of Valentine Dyall and Anthony Perkins, while John Arthur lends the hotel security chief a look of bemused fluster.

Lately, Ayckbourn's plays have not always found favour in the West End. But this one certainly deserves to draw the town. Mind you, it makes you a bit suspicious of hotel bedrooms.

Nick Dear's **Zenobia** is a very curious play: decently written, extensively researched but lacking any clear, over-arching theme. We see the eponymous heroine become regent of Palmyra in 267AD on the death of her husband, attempt to turn the Syrian desert city into a cultural capital and challenge the decaying Roman empire by conquering Egypt. But she comes up against a hard-headed emperor, Aurelian, who in 272 puts down her revolt, takes her prisoner and eventually leads her in triumph through Rome. Dear has an appetite for history, but here, though the story is well told, it is hard to see its contemporary relevance.

Zenobia herself, although superbly played by Penny Downie as a swashbuckling figure in leather chaps, is also hard to anatomise: she emerges as a loveless Cleopatra who is a mixture of civic idealism and brute pragmatism. Oddly, it is the detested Romans who are more dramatically coherent, particularly as represented by Trevor Cooper's foul-mouthed, misogynist Aurelian and Sean O'Callaghan as his faithful tribune who finally gives his emperor a lingering kiss.

It crossed my mind that the play might be a parable about the Gulf war but it never pursues the possible parallels. It fails to translate history into universal metaphor.

Virtuoso who passed the acid test

OBITUARY
Jerry Garcia

JERRY GARCIA, who has died of a heart attack aged 53, was virtuoso guitarist with the Grateful Dead and an embodiment of the late sixties hippy underground of the American West Coast. His death comes at a time when the group was enjoying probably its greatest period of popularity. Nostalgia was a powerful element in that success, but it was intermingled too with that peculiar and persistent American desire for community and a society beyond pure individualism and materialism.

Garcia was born in San Francisco and started playing guitar at 15. His first interest was folk music, and after dropping out of high school and a brief spell in the army, he formed a duo with Robert Hunter, later to become the Dead's principal lyricist. Early bands with whom he was involved included Mother McCree's Uptown Jug Champions, which brought him into contact with keyboards player Ron "Pigpen" McKernan and guitarist Bob Weir. This band went electric and evolved in 1965 into the Warlocks with drummer Bill Kreutzmann and bassist Phil Lesh. The Warlocks were closely tied to Ken Kesey's Acid Tests, multi-media events built around the then legal LSD.

Garcia described the impact of the acid tests on his music by saying: "Sometimes we'd get up and play for two hours, three hours, sometimes we'd play for 10 minutes and all freak out and split. It wasn't a gig, it was the Acid Test where anything was okay. It was magic, far out magic."

The band acquired a new name.


Far out magic . . . Jerry Garcia, with the Grateful Dead, in London in 1990 PHOTOGRAPH SEAN SMITH

Opening the Oxford English Dictionary, a stoned Garcia saw two words juxtaposed: "Everything else on the page went blank, diffuse, just sorta oozed away, and there was Grateful Dead, big, black-lettered, edged all around in gold, man, blasting out at me, such a stunning combination."

In June 1966, when they moved into San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district, the Dead quickly became — with Jefferson Airplane — the quintessential psychedelic band, providing a soundtrack for the 1967's Summer of Love.

From the very beginning, their sets were an eclectic mix of blues, folk, country, soul and pop music, plus a growing repertoire of original songs, which frequently grew into free-form jams built around Garcia's accomplished guitar playing.

But he was by no means the star. The Dead always believed in collective improvisation, rather than a group of musicians supporting a soloist. This format was maintained through the ensuing decades until their sets became a virtual history of American music reconstructed on an endless, timeless plateau.

It proved, however, almost impossible to transfer on to record. Their strength was always in performance, where the music could sprawl unrestricted for as long as the musicians remained standing. Largely out of the clutches of the record industry, they were able to build up their own touring organisation, usually comprising family and friends, which looked over both band and fans, enabling them to maintain their "outlaw" reputation. This, and their commitment to lengthy annual tours, helped account for their 30-year career.

By the late eighties a new generation of "Deadheads" had emerged. Grateful Dead concerts were communal events where the musicians encouraged listeners to make bootleg recordings of the performance.

Through the years, Garcia developed into an extraordinarily fine, melodic guitarist, steadily building up his improvisation rather than exploding into flashy solos. He was a consummate musician with a total commitment to playing, whenever, wherever, and with whomever.

He always had at least one other band on the go when the Dead were off the road, usually playing gigs in small clubs in San Francisco. He cut several solo albums and played on numerous sessions for other artists.

Presidents, musical fashions, material girls and boys came and went but the Grateful Dead's upward trend continued. During the first half of this year Garcia and the band played 40 concerts in 17 cities and their gross ticket sales of $29 million was second only to that of The Eagles. So Garcia had not escaped the commercial world, even down to the launch of a Cherry Garcia ice cream.

In recent years there had been increasing signs of health problems. Garcia had an attraction to drugs, and his heroin use led to a community service sentence in 1985 and a near fatal collapse the following year. Heart problems followed in the early nineties.

Yet during the past decade he remained at the peak of his artistic powers, renewing at each concert his peculiar but haunting synthesis of traditional American musics with the psychedelic ideals of the 1960s.

Michael Oldfield and Dave Laing

Jerry (Jerome John) Garcia, born San Francisco August 1, 1942; died August 9, 1995

The A to Z of knowledge

TELEVISION
Nancy Banks-Smith

I HAVE a vague memory, and I am glad it is not clearer, of being on a Bafta jury when **The Knowledge** (C4) was up for an award. It lost. I wouldn't recommend jury service to anyone. The programmes are all right. It's the jurors who are impossible. There was the year Are You Being Served? — a line of dummy legs high kicking in frilly knickers — got very short shrift from a fierce young man, who said it was politically incorrect. Another year I was savaged by Germaine Greer. Look, you can still see the toothmarks, officer, there above the ankle bone.

The quite unforgettable thing about The Knowledge was Nigel Hawthorne's performance as Mr Burgess, the cabbies' examiner, the apotheosis of all sadistic schoolmasters ("If any of you wishes to call me Sir, I shall try not to be offended"). The 16 years since it was first shown by Thames offer a new perspective. Here was a respected, 50-year-old character actor, quite suddenly tearing off his whiskers and revealing himself as starborn. The next year Nigel Hawthorne would get his award as Sir Humphrey in Yes Minister. And another the next year. And so on *ad infinitum*.

Mr Burgess, known to cabbies as The Vampire ("Take a crucifix and a pointed stick. You'll be all right") welcomed the new intake with gently smiling jaws. He was also their examiner in the shortest route between any two points on the map: "I'm standing outside Arding and Hobbs and I want to go to the London Fire Brigade HQ . . . to report a fire . . . in the bedding department." Sometimes he looked quite mad. It was a terrifying bobsleigh ride of a performance, greased with sarcasm.

Of all Jack Rosenthal's bunches of male bonders, The Knowledge is probably the best. Only three cabbies will finish the course. One of them will be Titanic, an elderly wreck of a man. His wife has not spoken to him since the honeymoon. She never said why. Once, and only once, I leaped into a taxi and cried: "Follow that car!" Titanic, I am sure it was Titanic, slowly took a small pill and said he had a heart condition.

Talking of knowledge, a civil servant with a moustache won **Mastermind** (BBC1). Kevin Ashman was on Mastermind 18 years and it was *very bad indeed* for him. He is now in a sad way: "It's addictive. Pub quizzes, club quizzes, it's become a way of life." He can answer questions about the Zulu war that Magnus Magnusson can't pronounce.

You secretly supported the little chap from Romford who said: "It's like that scene in Chariots Of Fire where Nigel Havers says he's running for the honour of Repton, Eton and Caius. I am running for the honour of Scargill Junior, Ascross Technical High and Devonshire Hall, University of Leeds."

Our quite desperate thirst for colour — it might as well have been in black and white — was supplied at last by Patrick Moore. A circular heavenly body in a flowing bow-tie and monocle, he ambled on carrying the tasteful crystal bowl which is all you get. He bounced up and down on his toes with the exuberance of his speech.

Bravo (cable and satellite) cleared the weekend for Lord Grade's cheerful children. He was such a seminal head of ATV that everything was created in his image.

Space 1999 with Leo McKern ("I am Gwent from the Planet Zemo!"); Jason King in his heliotrope housecoat saving the world from John Le Mesurier as a mad scientist ("The treatment has been successful. He is totally, utterly insane"); The Saint ("My name's Simon Templar but you can call me darling"); The Persuaders with Roger Moore as an English peer righting wrongs in posh places.

All those economical sets and broken accents, claiming firmly to be foreign: "What are you doing in Mehico, señor?" They skipped along gaily touching life at no known point. As the Mehican said: "There is no sense to be made of this! No sense at all!" Well I know that but as the entertaining Lord Grade put it, "It was great fun. I've enjoyed it."

Out of this clutch of ducklings there emerged one exquisite wild swan, The Prisoner with Patrick McGoohan ("I am not a number! I am a free man!" They are going to make a film of it. I hope they don't make sense of it.

A shocking Tory

Bryan Cheyette

John Buchan: the Presbyterian Cavalier
by Andrew Lownie
Constable 365pp £20

JOHN BUCHAN was something of an Edwardian Jeffrey Archer. The son of a Scottish Presbyterian minister, his upward mobility was founded on the success of his bestselling "shockers" such as The Thirty-Nine Steps. Making a considerable amount of money from his literary and other ventures, Buchan was to become a willing factotum of the Tory establishment.

He was a top civil servant and an MP and, in the twenties, took charge of the Conservative party's Educational Institute. A man of extraordinary energy, he also dabbled in law, publishing and journalism (he was an assistant editor on the Spectator, war correspondent for the Times, Atticus on the Sunday Times, and deputy chairman of Reuters); and even became Lord High Commissioner of the Church of Scotland.

His dream was to live like a "scholar gypsy", at home both in Whitehall and in the Scottish Highlands chasing German spies. His imperial romanticism was an antidote to the drudgery of authorship which would occupy most of his waking hours (even on his honeymoon).

According to Andrew Lownie's sympathetic account, Buchan's naked careerism was riven by unresolved contradictions. Regarded as a Scot in England and an Englishman in Scotland, Buchan was, like many of his heroes and villains, a man of innumerable disguises. A romantic novelist who stalked the corridors of power, he was never entirely at ease either in the world of serious literature or that of realpolitik. For one so sure of his imperial verities, he was a remarkably precarious individual.

At the height of his success, as Governor-General of Canada, Buchan (by then Lord Tweedsmuir) was slapped on the wrist by Buckingham Palace. Buchan had had to borrow capital from a friend, and tried to recoup some of his losses by placing newspaper articles on his time in Canada. King George let it be known that his personal representative should not engage in tawdry scribbling.

Lownie's meticulous biography is particularly good on the financial pressures which influenced most of Buchan's decisions. It wasn't merely as a devout imperialist that Buchan went to South Africa, after the Boer war. The job, as Lord Milner's private secretary, happened to pay substantially more than he could earn as a barrister or as an emergent writer.

Buchan began writing as an Oxford student. Before the age of 25, he had produced two volumes of essays, four novels and two collections of stories and poems. (By the end of his career, he had published more than 100 books.)

Oxford introduced Buchan to the world of secret societies and the mystique of English gallantry. He joined clubs and literary groups, industriously cultivating future contacts. Not that Buchan's pursuit of glory was altogether fruitful. He failed to gain an All Souls fellowship, and Lownie has dug up some excruciatingly embarrassing letters in which Buchan offers his services to the powers-that-be.

Elected late in life as a Scottish Tory, Buchan aspired to cabinet office, but to no avail. Following his role as director of information during the first world war, he started an unsuccessful whispering campaign to be awarded a suitable gong.

Buchan's novels were to give full vent to their author's many insecurities. Lownie rightly notes how much Buchan was attracted to the supposed forces of evil he was meant to disavow. Though Lownie does not shy away from them, the more unpleasant attitudes of his hero — especially his racism, misogyny and anti-Semitism — cannot be entirely excused by the complexity of Buchan's psyche.



An Edwardian Jeffrey Archer: Buchan (right) with his son Johnnie

In the thirties, Buchan supported "imperial emigration", which meant the transfer of unemployed workers to other parts of the empire. He was also against another world war, on the grounds that taking on Hitler would threaten the empire. His Zionism, often cited as an antidote to his anti-Semitism, can be interpreted as a means of moving putatively undesirable elements out of Britain.

Lownie is stronger on the public aspects of Buchan than on the personal. There are hints of his children's huge resentment at an absent father; Buchan himself seems to have had a difficult mother, continually disappointed by her son's many achievements.

This formidably detailed study is a labour of love by a devoted Buchanite, a nuanced understanding of a figure who, for too long, has been regarded as an extension of his fictional heroes.

We are not amused

Rebecca Gowers

George Eliot: A Biography
by Frederick Karl
HarperCollins 708pp £25

WHEN George Eliot decided to live, as if married, with George Henry Lewes, while his wife, Agnes Lewes, happily had several children by Thornton Hunt, the sculptor Thomas Woolner described them as "hideous satyrs . . . these Mormonites in another name — stink pots of humanity". Despite such opprobrium, Eliot was to produce some of the most revered moral writing of her time, held dear even by Queen Victoria.

Feminists, particularly after Eliot had died, approached the split between work and life the other way round. In Grant Allen's notorious 1895 novel, The Woman Who Did, for example, the heroine, who is opposed to marriage, can never quite forgive George Eliot for living "the truth" freely and yet "upholding in her books the conventional lies, the conventional prejudices". A century on, we may view this dichotomy more leniently, but it helps to indicate why Eliot should be a wonderful subject for a biography.

The most admired full-scale account of her life was written in 1968 by Gordon Haight. Frederick Karl, finding Haight's work over-coy, or discreet, reckons now to supplant it. He does a pretty thorough job of tracing Eliot's emotional development through a whole series of relationships with men, many of whom spurned her even as she surpassed them in intellectual achievement. He is excellent in explaining the history of her writing from a practical viewpoint: sales figures; royalty arrangements; the impact of a rivalry with Dickens; Eliot's fear of producing Middlemarch to serial format; the quest to make small book instalments of that novel seem longer by using wide margins and spongy paper. . .

Karl also pays respectful attention to Eliot's exchanges with a number of women who fell in love with her as her fame grew. He discusses Eliot's ugliness — she was "deliciously ugly" according to Henry James — her endless headaches, maladies, and plethora of names: Mary Anne, Mary Ann, Marian, Pollian, Polly, George, Mutter, Madonna, Evans, Lewes, Eliot, and finally, after a legal marriage months before she died, Cross.

Karl can claim to have struck a better balance between all these facts than is found elsewhere. It is beyond this point, however, that we run into difficulties. Naturally, he theorises about what certain facts imply: why all the names, why all the headaches? Naturally, too, he speculates about information that has been censored or lost: did Eliot have lesbian inclinations, did she sleep with her second husband?

Even a tedious biography can be convincing, but the moment Karl strays from verifiable detail, the reader recoils, unwilling to grant him the sort of licence that presumably made the work interesting to him.

This can be briefly illustrated by Karl's recourse to the word "amusing". Throughout the book, he uses it as a catch-all to evade matters of sensitivity. John Cross, Eliot's financial adviser, 20 years her junior and himself a bachelor, asked Eliot to marry him shortly after both Lewes and Cross's own mother had died. Eliot herself was pitching towards renal failure, prescribed a pint of champagne a day by Queen Victoria's surgeon, Sir James Paget. She was enamoured of Cross, but doubtful, and only accepted him after three proposals.

Though the marriage regularised her social position at last, it was still scandalous; scandalous if Cross didn't desire a sexual union, scandalous if Eliot did. When they reached Venice on their honeymoon, Cross jumped out of their hotel window into the Grand Canal, apparently trying to kill himself.

"In retrospect there is something somewhat amusing about the situation," writes Karl, "— amusing, that is, for those who hear the story told in a certain way . . . The amusing part — if we put a hold on the pain of the participants — comes from our laughter at sexual failure."

Karl's amusement disease is pandemic, and such flaws in Karl's writing eventually lead one to question the very quality of his thought. He does achieve, at times, an astonishing vacuity. He writes that "reading Eliot, we can assume, is far more intense than it was for even her most sympathetic contemporaries . . . in our eclecticism we can glory in her wide range". This is on a par with saying that only non-believers can truly fathom religion. George Eliot would not be amused.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY August 20 1995

A slice of American apple-piety

Philip MacCann

Trinity Fields
by Bradford Morrow
HarperCollins 435pp £15.99

WHILE America's top physicists secretly work to produce the first atomic bomb in the military-built, dystopian town of Los Alamos, two boys frolic around the mountains like Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn. Their romantic friendship grows as they learn of their father's guilt. Kip becomes a recalcitrant runaway, high-spirited, death-defying; doting narrator Brice is "infinitely his inferior". By temperament, Kip is destined later for Nixon's covert war in Laos, while Brice will agitate against Vietnam.

This is Bradford Morrow's first British publication. He is vivid on nostalgia for New Mexico and deluded, inarticulate characters and their sixties student life in New York. Landscapes, skies, flowers, Spanish words ornament the prose. Trinity Fields is essentially overblown, Thoreauvian travel writing: a sentimental journey through America.

Morrow is best, subtly poignant, on mid-American domesticity; the end of the second world war is used only as a backdrop for a small story of friendship and integrity threatened by love. The novel captures the apple-piety of America but has little more to reveal about its society.

Though it tries to reach a level of ideas, it merely rehashes the Manhattan Project journalism, just as it rehashes James Gleick on chaos theory or flaunts the most familiar literary allusions.

The true, if unintentional, subject of the novel is narcissism. There's nothing gay about these two lads, they just love each other as American boys should. The woman Kip loves looks like him — so Brice falls in love with her too and they all live together.

Their exaggerated self-descriptions — they are the most unholy or else the most holy — are matched only by the self-importance of a narrator who is not treated ironically: "I'm more sinned against than sinning but need no blasted heath on which to howl it out to whomsoever in the world would care to hear me."

And the writing is obsessed with itself, so self-conscious it affects many voices. Fitzgerald's precious literary style is useless for modern America ("we indulged in 7Up"). Philip Roth's voice, describing the minutiae of ordinary life, is more successfully imitated. At times an unself-conscious voice emerges which is very beautiful.

And yet the characters are real, the emotions living and the story becomes very engaging. "All bad writers are in love with the epic," Hemingway said. Morrow is no bad writer because he overstates his story. But he may have written a better novel if he had continued, as Eliot put it, towards the extinction of personality.

Paperbacks

Nicholas Lezard

Hell's Angels, by Hunter S Thompson (Penguin, £6.99)

HELL'S Angels might have dated — as illustrated by the splendidly ill-chosen jacket photograph on this reprint, of a biker wearing a helmet ("You will never see a Hell's Angel wearing a crash helmet," p89), but good journalism doesn't. This is a masterpiece of dedicated, clear-sighted research, offering not just a picture of its subject but of straight America in the 1960s.

The Magician's Doubts, by Michael Wood (Pimlico, £10.00)

SUPERB, even moving, critical work on Nabokov, a triumph of close reading of an author whose subtlety and intelligence demand more close reading than most. Wood convincingly passes on the complexities or difficulties of Nabokov's fiction in a direct, and simple, fashion, allowing us an insight into the tenderness behind Nabokov's teasing construct of himself as icy-hearted artificer.

The Museum of Love, by Steve Weiner (Bloomsbury, £5.99)

THIS novel has a great opening sentence: "In August that year a Lutheran farmer named Ed Gien shot a social worker in the cranberry bogs." Which just about says it all. It's French Canada. Death stalks the land, everyone's bonkers. "Exquisite clocks ticked . . . I wrapped myself in wings like an upright bat and slept standing on the shore." Quite.

Astrology for Beginners, by Geoffrey Cornelius, Maggie Hyde and Chris Webster (Icon, £7.99)

PEOPLE who suspect that astrology is mumbo-jumbo designed to entrap the credulous and enrich its practitioners will do so no longer, once they have read this book. They will know it. You can't blame the authors for recycling this rubbish, they probably genuinely believe in it. But Icon should be ashamed of themselves for peddling it.

Black Holes and Time Warps, by Kip S Thorne (Papermac, £10.00)

WHAT HAPPENS at the edge of a black hole? Or inside one? Can one construct wormholes in space that will make interstellar travel — and time travel — possible? This is lay readers' science of a high order, making mind-boggling concepts accessible to the average arty dunce.

The Republic of Whores, by Josef Skvorecky, trs Paul Wilson (Faber, £6.99)

SKVORECKY'S second novel, written in 1954, published here for the first time last year. My theory is that the CIA suppressed publication because it exposes the Eastern Bloc armies as a collection of miserable incompetents, a million grumbling Svejks. Skvorecky says he didn't read Svejk until after writing this, which is plausible, and points to an enduringly stroppy Czech spirit. But why "republic of whores" when the original title was "Tank Corps?"

Testament to an unlikely friendship

Zoë Heller

Between Friends: the correspondence of Hannah Arendt and Mary McCarthy
Edited by Carol Brightman
Secker & Warburg 412pp £25

BEFORE Hannah Arendt and Mary McCarthy were ever friends, they were fast enemies. On the occasion of their second meeting, at a New York party in 1945, the conversation turned to the French citzenry's hostility towards their German occupiers. McCarthy, golden Vassar girl, princess of the Manhattan literary set, remarked that she "felt sorry for" Hitler being so deluded as to crave the love of even his victims.

Arendt, a Jewish-German exile, who had spent the war years working for the establishment of an anti-Nazi Jewish army, and who had just begun writing The Origins Of Totalitarianism, her great work of scholarly inquiry into the common roots of the Stalinist and Nazi regimes, was not prepared to tolerate this sort of "sophisticated" chatter. "How can you say such a thing to me — a victim of Hitler, a person who has been in a concentration camp!" she exploded, before stamping away to complain about McCarthy to the party's host.

Tales of in-fighting among the intellectual élite do not surprise us much any more. Yet one of the pleasures of Between Friends lies in the challenge it offers to this peculiarly modern cynicism. Four years after their initial falling-out, Arendt approached McCarthy on a subway platform. "Let's end this nonsense," she said. "We two think so much alike." McCarthy then apologised for her remark about Hitler, and Arendt admitted she hadn't ever been in a concentration camp — only a French internment camp.

The correspondence that began after this rapprochement and continued for the next quarter of a century, until Arendt's death in 1975, testifies to the intensely loyal, even passionate attachment that their unlikely friendship became.

Although they did not perhaps think quite so alike as Arendt first imagined, their differences appear to have been productive ones — rooted by a mutual intellectual respect and a shared commitment, unabashed in its earnestness, to "the life of the mind".

In one early letter written from Cape Cod in 1954, McCarthy switches casually back and forth from earnest consideration of "the shattered science of epistemology" to gossipy complaints about Cape Cod social life. The role that McCarthy adopts here — the worldly pupil offering satirical snippets from literary society in exchange for intellectual nourishment from her mentor — is not uncharacteristic.

Still, the roles that the two women played in these letters were not inflexible. On several occasions, Arendt seems to have ventured into McCarthy's arena, offering tough and rather good advice on amatory matters. "You can't expect somebody who loves you to treat you less cruelly than he would treat himself," she writes sternly, after McCarthy's brief affair with an English boxer-turned-literary critic, John Davenport, has come to a bitter end.

Just as Arendt grappled with McCarthy's love affairs, so McCarthy was not beyond correcting "barbarisms" in Arendt's manuscripts (English was Arendt's fourth language) or taking her to task on weaknesses in her arguments. Such rigour as both of them displayed could, when it wasn't tempered by the respect and affection that they felt for one another, be a brutal thing. Both women were unapologetically élitist in intellectual matters and their summary judgments of colleagues and friends in these letters are often devastating. "She isn't bright and knows it and has transferred her small aggressive sense of authority (also her anxiety) to her objects which she then turns on angrily as if they were false friends," McCarthy writes of one acquaintance in 1974.





Arendt (top) and McCarthy: they remained friends to the end

IN HIS memoir, A New York Jew, Alfred Kazin, recalls, with much injured pride, the critical drubbing that McCarthy and her second husband, Edmund Wilson, gave his book, On Native Grounds, when he visited them in their New York apartment in 1947. "[McCarthy] went into my faults with great care . . . I was fascinated by her zeal . . . I thought of my gentle, distinctly unliterary wife . . . I thought of her with longing in this inhuman setting." Wilson was quickly excused his momentary insensitivity, but McCarthy's lack of feminine gentleness was never forgiven and Kazin later repaid her with a punishing portrait in his book, Starting Out In The Thirties.

Arendt's response to attack was bluff, stoical. When she herself was accused of implicitly defending the Nazi, Adolf Eichmann, in her famous report on his trial, she simply refused to enter into the debate. "My position is that I wrote a report and that I am not in politics, either Jewish or otherwise."

McCarthy was more inclined to hurt bewilderment. After the publication of The Group in 1963 had made her a proper celebrity, she became increasingly subject to vituperative, *ad feminam* attacks, but never inured to them. With Arendt, she was always worrying over the nuances of their exchanges and the minute fluctuations in the temperature of their feelings. "It was sad to watch you go through the gate to the airport without turning back," she writes to Arendt in 1974, after they have spent a couple of days together in Scotland. "Something is happening or has happened to our friendship and I cannot think that in noticing this I am being overly sensitive or imagining things. The least I can conjecture is that I have got on your nerves." With a palpable note of impatience, Arendt replies, "The notion that you would ever get on my nerves never crossed my mind. For heaven's sake, Mary, stop it, please."

If this exchange, a year before Arendt died, is more redolent of the frets and fevers of romance than the stolid understanding one might expect from old friends, it offers, perhaps, a clue to the extraordinary strength and longevity of the two women's connection.

As the two women grew old, the value they placed on each other's affection waxed rather than waned. At Arendt's funeral, McCarthy spoke of Arendt as "alluring, seductive, feminine . . . her eyes, so brilliant and sparkling . . ." It was how a lover might have spoken — in its almost erotic appreciation of Arendt, but more especially in its acknowledgement that the comforts of familiarity had never quite vanquished the essential mystery of the beloved.

Listening to the regular guys

James Wood

Native Speaker
by Chang-rae Lee
Granta Books 324pp £9.99

THE first novel may often be a kind of impostership on the path to naturalness. Chang-rae Lee's distinguished first novel, Native Speaker, has its moments of inauthentic mimickry; but it is also about impostorship and strategies of possession; about how a Korean-American man in his early thirties strives for the creation of a natural American voice; and how, despite these strategies, he must always carry within him the ampoule of his ethnicity.

"We joked a little more, I thought like regular American men, faking, dipping, juking. I found myself listening to us. For despite how well he spoke, how perfectly he moved through the sounds of his words, I kept listening for the errant tone, the flag, the minor mistake that would tell of his original race."

This is the novel's thematic twine, and what is best about the book; unfortunately, this story of Korean-American adaptation is twisted around a rather ordinary spy story. Henry Park, the novel's hero, works for an espionage unit just outside New York City. Henry's watchfulness is both his talent and his curse. He is a natural spy, but an unnatural husband. While his work prospers — he is put on the trail of a Korean-American politician called John Kwang — his marriage to Lelia, an Anglo-Saxon American, withers.

As Lelia tells him: "Sometimes I think you're not even here, with the rest of us, you know, engaged, present." Henry is lost, plagued by feelings of inauthenticity. He remembers, as a child, addressing his bedroom mirror, daring his image to be natural — "I could barely convince myself that it was I who was talking."

Chang-rae Lee's decision to make Henry a spy, someone whose profession is watchfulness, is a mistake. It codifies too heavily what is softly pressed elsewhere in the novel, in the reminiscences of childhood. The book, as it were, grows to be about itself.

Worse, the spy's milieu leads Lee away from the innate lyricism of his style into an unfortunate imitation of American hardboiled-dom: "Hoagland told me how Jack had been abducted in Cyprus by a red insurgent faction in sixtyfour. At the time he was working piecemeal for the CIA. In Cyprus, Hoagland said, Jack's captors decided they were going to break every bone in his body with a small hammer."

In the novel's first 100 pages, Lee slides around between this kind of sawn-off abruptness and an over-inflated lyricism. But these are just first-night jitters, and as soon as the book settles into its story of Henry's family and its struggle to find itself in America, the prose stabilises.

What emerges is one of the finest accounts of family life produced by a first novelist in recent years. For Lee is a rare stylist, and has unhindered access to deep feeling. His portrait of Henry's father is beautiful — the stern, silent Korean grocer who never showed affection for his wife; who began with one store and progressed to owning five.

We are accustomed, these days, to first novels which are little more than folios of knowingness. Chang-rae Lee's book is different: in all kinds of ways, but in particular in its wisdom and lyrical passion. Henry is a spy, but he sees like a novelist, like his creator.

Ordered to report on John Kwang's machinations in Queens, he constructs instead a mental version of Kwang's life — the immigrant's negative before the smooth American coloration: "I wanted to tell them that what they have here is a man named John Kwang, born in Seoul before the last war, a boy during the Korean one, his family not mercifully sundered or refugee'ed but obliterated, the co-ordinates of his home village twice removed from the maps.

"That he stole away to America as the house boy of a retiring two-star general . . . where he named himself John. Where he was beaten nearly to death and robbed of all his savings. Where he worked in a Chinatown noodle shop and slept outside next to the steam vent and awoke one morning to see that his feet had turned almost black with the cold.

"Where he knew hunger again, that unforgettable taste of his other country . . . And where he began to think of America as part of him, maybe even his, and this for me was the crucial leap of his character, deep flaw or not, the leap of his identity, no one in our work would find valuable but me."

Chess Leonard Barden

PETER LEKO is the Hungarian 15-year-old who caused a stir a few months ago by telling an interviewer that he planned to become world champion in 1999. Many chessplayers begin their careers with such rosy dreams, but Leko is fulfilling his ambitions.

He was an international master at 12, then broke the records of Bobby Fischer and Judit Polgar by achieving his grandmaster title at 14. His latest Fide rating is above 2600, the super-GM level which only Fischer previously reached at 15.

Last month's Dortmund invitation was his stiffest test so far. The average rating of the 10 GMs was 2665, which rivalled Riga, Novgorod, Linares and Seville as the strongest tournament of the year. Leko forecast that he would score 50 per cent, a tall order in the company of Karpov, Ivanchuk, Kramnik and Short. In the event, he did better still, scoring 5/9 with only one defeat and sharing third prize with Ivanchuk behind Kramnik (7) and Karpov (6½). His tournament rating was around 2700, superior to Fischer's best results at 15..

Leko has an adaptable game, but what stands out is his very detailed opening knowledge and his liking for defence in depth. This game was his most impressive at Dortmund. The boy's leisurely, almost provocative queen's side regroup between moves 15-24 soaks up White's pressure and prefaces a decisive counter against the white king.

Evgeny Bareev-Peter Leko, Queen's Indian Defence

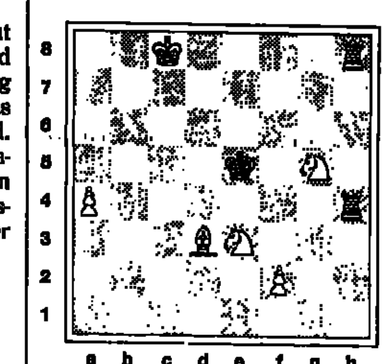
1 d4 Nf6 2 c4 e6 3 Nf3 b6 4 Nc3 Bb4 5 Bg5 Bb7 6 e3 h6 7 Bh4 Bxc3+ 8 bxc3 d6 9 Nd2 g5 10 Bg3 Qe7 11 h4 Rg8 12 Rh2 Nc6 13 Bd3 0-0-0 14 Qe2 In this well-known system, White often tries to storm the BK's position by c4-c5, aiming at a crossfire on the b-file and the white diagonal. Leko's next two turns seem strange, but he is already preparing to regroup his knights to c5.

Kb8! 15 e4 Ka8 16 Nb3 e5 17 d5 Nb8 18 a4 a5 19 c5?! The typical sacrifice, anticipating Black's knight regroup; but White already stands worse and a better plan may be 19 f3 and Bf2, aiming to exchange both BNs at c5 then to block the K-side by g4 and h5.

dxc5 20 Rb1 Ne8 21 f3 Nd6 22 Nd2 f6 23 Rh1 Ka7 24 Bf2 Ba6 25 g4 Bxd3 26 Qxd3 Na6 27 Ke2? After this error, the WK is never safe. Better 27 h5 when mobilising Black's extra Q-side pawn exposes his K. Black might still make progress by another king march, this time to g7.

Qd7 28 Qc2 h5! 29 gxh5 g4 30 Rbg1 gxf3+ 31 Nxf3 Qh7 32 Nd2 Qxh5+ 33 Ke1 f5! Opening up more entry squares into the white defences. **34 Qd1 Qf7 35 Rxg8 Rxg8 36 Rg1 Rf8 37 Qf3 Qe8 38 Rg5 fxe4 39 Qg3 Qxa4 40 Rxe5 Nc4 41 Nxc4 Qxc4 42 Qe3 a4 43 Resigns.** After 43 Qxe4 Qxe4+ 44 Rxe4 b5 Black's pawns advance while White's are easily stopped.

No 2383



White mates in three moves, against any defence (by S M Katz, 1935).

No 2382: Leko won by 1 d6! The game ended Rg7? hoping for 2 Ne6 Nd4 2 Qd2! Resigns. White threatens 3 Bxf5 gxf5 4 Nf7+ while if 2 . . . Kg8 3 Qd5+ wins. If 1 d6 Nxd6 2 Rd3 Nf5 3 Qd2 Kg8 4 Bxf5 gxf5 5 Rd6 Qg7 6 Ne6 wins. If 1 d6 Nxd6 2 Rd3 Nf6 3 Red1 Nfe8 4 Be6+.

ILLUSTRATION: ROGER PEARS

Feline ghosts

Ralph Whitlock

AT LEAST seven or eight letters have fallen on my desk over the past five or six weeks on the intriguing topic of cat ghosts. The first letter is a straightforward one from Popondetta in Papua New Guinea. It starts off with the query, "Have you ever heard of a cat ghost?" and proceeds to answer it.

"Several years my family had a well-loved black cat called Minou. When he died at the age of 10 years we acquired a replacement pet for our two children. Minou, however, was determined to live on in spirit. For months after his death he was seen around the house by all the family. Sometimes he would dash out in front of us, almost causing us to trip. At other times we would be obliged to step over him, only to look back and realise there was no cat lying on the floor. Our new kitten seemed oblivious to her ghostly predecessor!"

Now a letter from North York, Ontario. "Some years ago we acquired two kittens. A friend waylaid two people outside the Humane Society building in Toronto who were taking in two cats and two kittens. She begged for the kittens and brought them to us. About two weeks later, I was in bed and falling asleep, when I distinctly felt a cat walking over me. Thinking one of the kittens was in the room, I got up and turned the light on. Nothing. The next day I mentioned this to a friend with whom I shared the house, and he astonished me by saying exactly the same thing had happened to him — the sensation of a cat walking on the bed.

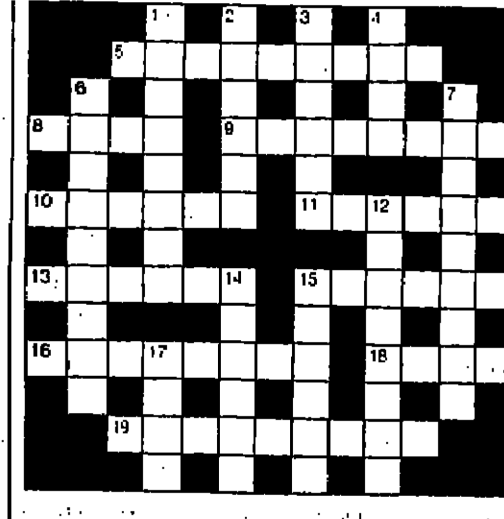
"We could only assume that the kittens' mother, whom the Humane Society had had to destroy, had come back to check on us and to make sure her children were well. The experience was never repeated."

From South Australia: "We had a much loved and extremely active and naughty cat called Sophie. She was an ordinary enough black and white moggie, apart from the fact that she loved football. Whenever she heard one of the children bouncing a football outside she would hurl herself against the door and demand to join in.

"Sadly, when she was only [illegible] months old she died a lingering death from a blood disease. During her last few days, she slept at our feet on the bed. When the poor little thing finally died she manifested her second unusual characteristic by visiting us and meowing in our bedroom after we were in bed (but not asleep). We both felt her jump on to the bed and begin kneading the bedclothes and then heard her beginning to purr loudly. Naturally, when we got up and turned the light on, she wasn't there.

"I should point out that my husband had been a gravedigger for a few years, and hence neither of us are given to supernatural imaginings. We were, however, astounded by our ghost and have not told many people for fear of being laughed at. To us, however, the occurrence was very real. We have heard the odd meow and have seen the occasional movement out of the corner of our eyes, but nothing as powerful as the initial experience, and her presence has gradually faded away."

Quick crossword no. 275



Across

5 The pilgrim who progressed (9)
8 Flower or rainbow (4)
9 Young bird (8)
10 Uncultivated — deer! (6)
11 Black suit (6)
13 Attack or cost (6)
15 It's easily done (6)
16 Set of letters (8)
18 Payment for house etc. (4)
19 Made curious — plotted (9)

Down

1 Painter — or musician! (8)
2 Opening for light (6)
3 Remote country — remains (6)
4 Autumn (4)
6 Principal room in old mansion (5,4)
7 Subordinate (9)
12 See 17
14 Dying coals (6)
15 Second childhood (6)
17,12 Fairytale writer whose middle name was 5 (4,8)

Last week's solution

TAPEWORM BLOT
U Y I O M I H
FERAL TRAITOR
T E L A K R O
EXPORT REJECT
B I Y E O T
APACHE GLOBAL
R E O D U E
BELOWTHEBELT
I O I A O L F
CRUISER NOISE
A S P G E O L
NEED SEASONAL

Bridge Zia Mahmood

GREAT BRITAIN are the junior bridge champions of the world. In Bali last month, they added the world crown to their European title, a tremendous achievement. The new champions are twin brothers Justin and Jason Hackett, Phil Souter and Danny Davis, Tom Townsend and Jeffrey Allerton. Raymond Brock was non-playing captain, Phil King was team coach and Su Burn was team manager.

The team won the Junior European Championship in the final stride, overtaking Denmark with only a handful of deals remaining in the last match of the tournament. But they won the World Championship from the front — they led the 16-team round robin event from the early stages, which allowed them to choose their opponents in the semi-final. They picked Canada, whom they completely demolished, then confronted New Zealand in the final.

The Kiwis were a dangerous team — bridge is a popular sport down under, where regulations governing what systems and conventions may be played are far more relaxed. The New Zealand juniors had armed themselves with the latest destructive bidding gadgets — but a weapon that rebounds on its wielder is not much use, as this deal from the final demonstrates. Look at the North-South cards and decide how you and your partner might bid them before reading what actually happened — North-South game, dealer West:

	North	
	♠ A K 10 3	
	♥ A Q 8 7 2	
	♦ 5	
	♣ A K 7	
West		**East**
♠ Q 7		♠ 9 5
♥ K 9		♥ 10 6 5 4 3
♦ K 10 9 4 2		♦ A Q J 7
♣ 9 8 5 3		♣ Q 7
	South	
	♠ J 8 6 4 2	
	♥ J	
	♦ 8 6 3	
	♣ 10 6 4 2	

You will see that as the cards lie, North-South can make a slam in spades — not the kind of slam that one would recommend, but unbeatable for all that. I don't know what auction you came up with, but if I were playing with my favourite partner we would not bid a slam, and we would not play in spades. In truth, the bidding would be very simple:

South	West	North	East
	No	1♥	No
No	No		

and that was indeed the auction when New Zealand held the North-South cards.

But at the other table, West had a toy:

South	West	North	East
Jason	Ker	Justin	Kear
	2♣(1)	Double	2♥
No	No	Double	No
2♠	No	4♠	No
No	No		

(1) Weak, clubs and another suit.

Justin was able to show the power of the North hand by doubling the artificial opening to show values, then doubling the natural response to show more values. Both of these doubles were ostensibly for takeout, so Jason was forced to bid spades on the pitiful South hand — but Justin happily raised those to the four level. One heart scored 140, four spades scored 680, GB scored 11 IMPs from nowhere. Their winning margin was 124 IMPs over 80 boards. That's emphatic.

Athletics World Championships

Johnson joins the golden greats

Guardian Reporters in Gothenburg

SPRINT doubles are the stuff of athletic legend, Jesse Owens and Carl Lewis being two members of this illustrious club, but Texan Michael Johnson went one better here on Sunday when he anchored the United States 400m relay team home to bring his own personal gold standard up to three for these championships and his country's to 12.

The first of Johnson's three medals arrived on Wednesday when he won the 400 metres in 43.39 seconds, narrowly missing the world record set by Harry "Butch" Reynolds in Zurich seven years ago by one-tenth of a second. Then on Friday evening, he left the rest of the field for dead in the 200 metres final, winning in 19.79.

Johnson isn't the only athlete who makes a habit of winning at the big events. In the women's 1500 metres, Algeria's Hassiba Boulmerka beat Britain's Kelly Holmes into second place to retain her title and add to the Olympic gold she took in Barcelona.

Holmes's attempt to go one better in the 800 metres was not realised, but she did pick up a bronze and lowered the British record to 1min 56.95sec in the process. The final, held on Sunday, was won by Cuba's Ana Quirot in 1min 56.11sec. She had burst back on to the international scene a couple of weeks ago, finishing second to Mozambique's Maria Mutola in the Monte Carlo Grand Prix.

Mutola, the former world champion and overwhelming favourite was unfortunately missing, having been disqualified in the semi-final for running on the line.

America's Gwen Torrence will have known exactly how Mutola felt. Her dream of a sprint double seemed to have come true when she crossed the line in the 200 metres final on Thursday, ahead of rivals Merlene Ottey of Jamaica and Russia's Irina Privalova. However, she was subsequently disqualified when it was discovered that racing out of the bend her left spike had touched the inner line on at least four strides, thus contravening the rules. Ottey, who was then declared the winner, had little sympathy: "It came out on TV and I saw her run out of her lane, which is cheating. She ran two metres shorter than anyone else. Why should she get the gold?"

After the recent triumph of Miguel Indurain in taking his fifth successive Tour de France, Spain again displayed its success in endurance events when Indurain's friend, Martin Fiz, won the marathon in 2.11.41. Sonia O'Sullivan gave Ireland plenty to smile about when she triumphed in the 5,000m, recording a time of 14min 46.47sec.

Jan Zelezny of Czechoslovakia retained his javelin title with a winning throw of 89.95m. Britain's Steve Backley took the silver.

Medals

	Gold	Silver	Bronze
US	12	2	5
Belarus	2	3	2
Italy	2	2	2
Germany	2	2	2
Cuba	2	2	0
Kenya	2	1	3
Portugal	2	1	1
Canada	2	1	1
Ukraine	2	0	1
Algeria	2	0	0
Russia	1	4	7
Jamaica	1	4	2
Britain	1	3	1
Finland	1	1	1
Bulgaria	1	1	1
Ethiopia	1	1	0
Spain	1	1	0
Bahamas	1	1	0
France	1	0	2
Tadjikistan	1	0	0
Czech Republic	1	0	0
Syria	1	0	0
Ireland	1	0	0
Denmark	1	0	0
Morocco	0	3	1
Romania	0	2	0
Burundi	0	1	1
Australia	0	1	1
Zambia	0	1	0
Cameroon	0	1	0
Namibia	0	1	0
Mexico	0	1	0
Kazakhstan	0	1	0
China	0	1	0
Bermuda	0	1	0
Poland	0	0	2
Hungary	0	0	2
Trinidad	0	0	1
Saudi Arabia	0	0	1
Norway	0	0	1
Nigeria	0	0	1
Dominica	0	0	1
Brazil	0	0	1

Racing certainty . . . Michael Johnson displays the power that landed him three gold medals in Gothenburg PHOTO: MICHAEL STEELE

Golf

Montgomerie edged out in play-off again

Derek Lawrenson in Los Angeles

FOR the second successive year Colin Montgomerie has suffered savage disappointment in a major championship. At the Riviera Club here on Sunday he lost a sudden-death play-off for the US PGA Championship at the first extra hole when the Australian Steve Elkington rolled in a 30ft putt for a birdie three. Montgomerie's reply from 25ft missed the right edge of the hole.

At the US Open last year Montgomerie was beaten in an 18-hole play-off by Ernie Els. His year to date has seen a succession of near-misses but this was the most frustrating of all.

It was the fifth time in his career that the 32-year-old Scot has lost in a play-off. He said: "It did go through my mind as we were preparing to go out again. I was hoping the law of averages might come into effect, but I can hardly reproach myself. Steve went out and won it. I didn't lose it. There was nothing more I could have done."

Indeed Montgomerie had made a supreme effort to send the tournament into extra-time. On the 16th tee he was 14 under par and three shots shy of the required score. He birdied each of the last three holes.

A marvellous blow to the par-three 16th set up a 5ft birdie. At the par-five 17th he was short in two but chipped to 7ft. At the difficult, twisting 18th Montgomerie's drive located the fairway and again he delivered with his approach, this time finishing 20ft away. The putt caught the edge of the hole and disappeared below ground. Monty closed his eyes and broadly smiled.

As the overnight leader Ernie Els sprayed the ball to all parts it was right and just that Montgomerie and Elkington were still standing after 72 holes. The play of both was enthralling

The pair returned to the 18th tee. Both hit textbook drives, Elkington's effort finishing some 20 yards short of Montgomerie's but his approach was a beauty, finishing on an uncannily similar line to where his opponent had holed during regulation play.

Montgomerie's approach was right on target but pulled up 20ft short. Elkington knew his putt was on line from the moment he hit it. He urged it to the hole and he sank to his knees when it disappeared. Montgomerie could not match it, so the contest between two of the best players not to have won a major went in favour of the Australian.

● The US Ryder Cup team to play Europe at Oak Hill, Rochester, was announced on Monday. The squad is: Corey Pavin, Tom Lehman, Davis Love III, Phil Mickelson, Jay Haas, Jeff Maggert, Loren Roberts, Ben Crenshaw, Peter Jacobsen and Brad Faxon. Fred Couples and Curtis Strange were named by captain Lanny Wadkins as the two wild card selections.

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Hot shot Everton

THE new English soccer season kicked off to a bright start at the weekend, full of sun, fun and frolic. At some matches the temperatures were so high that players who ran at all were worthy of a medal.

For Everton another silver collection, this time for charitable purposes. The FA Cup winners beat the League champions, Blackburn Rovers, at Wembley to take the FA Charity Shield, the only goal of the match coming from Vinny Samways in the 57th minute.

The 8,220-strong crowd at the Third Division game between Leyton Orient and Torquay also witnessed a match of the nuptial variety when two ardent Orient supporters, Tony Hartstean and Greta Avery, tied the knot at a brief ceremony on the pitch at half-time.

There was red carpet for the young couple and The Wedding March was played for them. Shaun Brooks provided the perfect present for the newly-weds when he chipped Orient's winner in the 77th minute.

Second Division Blackpool's James Quinn wasted no time in becoming the season's first goalscorer when he found the net just 12 seconds into the game against Bristol. The home side equalised 19 minutes later and that's the way the scored remained.

Robbie Turner of Exeter achieved the dubious distinction of being the first player to be sent off. He was given the marching orders two minutes before half-time for foul and abusive language in his side's 1-0 defeat by Darlington.

The season's first hat-trick was scored by Northampton's Neil Grayson in 48 minutes in their 4-1 victory over Bury, and Hereford goalkeeper Chris Mackenzie became the 10th goalkeeper to score a League goal from within his own half when his side thrashed Barnet 4-1.

Crystal Palace, Leicester City and Ipswich, relegated from the Premiership, kicked off their new campaign in Divison One. There were victories for Palace, who beat Barnsley 4-3, and Leicester, who defeated Sunderland 2-1, but there was no Glorious Twelfth for Ipswich, who went down 1-3 to Birmingham.

Midweek saw Arsenal's £7.5 million Dutch import, Dennis Bergkamp, and David Platt, the £4.5 million purchase from Sampdoria, in action at Highbury against the Italian club Internazionale in a pre-season friendly. But their combined talents could not break the deadlock and the game ended in a goalless draw.

ITALY won the Admiral's Cup after their three boats dominated the 605-mile Fastnet Race. They finished the contest 26.298 points ahead of the United States, with Pasquale Landolfi's boat Brava Q8 and Paolo Gaia's Mumm-A-Mia first in their classes and Rinaldo del Bono's Capricorno fourth in hers. The best US boat was David Clarke's Pigs in Space, which finished second to Brava despite major damage to her bow.

COUNTY cricketers will be smiling all the way to the nets after getting a pay rise of £4,000. This will take their minimum wage to £18,500 next season. The players had asked for £20,000 but said last week they were quite happy with the compromise.

CHRIS EUBANK, former WBO super-middleweight champion, was fined £5,000 by the British Boxing Board of Control for bringing the sport into disrepute for his alleged "lose your life" comments aimed at Irishman Steve Collins, his opponent in a world title rematch.

AUSTRALIAN tycoon Kerry Packer's rebel World Rugby Corporation stumbled into more trouble when six leading Kiwi players, including former All Black Eroni Clarke, pledged their futures to the New Zealand Rugby Football Union. The corporation is trying to set up a professional competition to begin next year in opposition to the International Rugby Board and is offering lucrative contracts to top players.

IT WAS game, set and match to David Lloyd, Britain's Davis Cup tennis captain, who sold his chain of luxury health and tennis clubs to Whitbread for £201 million. Mr Lloyd launched the business in 1982 and still owns 10 per cent of company. Its sale, along with share options, will net him in excess of £20 million.

THE World Swimming Coaches' Association is demanding that China, already excluded from the Pan-Pacific championships after a pattern of positive drug tests, be banned from next year's Olympic Games in Atlanta, Georgia.